

IN THESE TIMES

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Ring Lardner Jr.'s Fearless Forecasts

A two-time winner tells how the Academy awards its Oscars.... Faye Dunaway is American, but is she the best? Page 12

In this issue

Who'll replace Young? 4
Atlanta's black leadership in crisis

Indira Gandhi's troubles 9
Strategy backfires, opposition mounts

Human rights/Vietnam 16
Noam Chomsky takes on the protestors

The US vs. McDonalds 18
A Senate committee suggests a new diet

IN THESE TIMES

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NEWSFRONT

Such as revolt in Eastern Europe

Eastern European connection

*"If we're going to put our best foot for-
ward in the world we have to speak up for
human rights... but there's a limit beyond
which you don't want to go. You may en-
courage people to do things you're not will-
ing to support, such as revolt in Eastern
Europe."*

Sen. Dick Clark (D-Iowa)

In putting his best foot forward on hu-
man rights, President Jimmy Carter is try-
ing not to stumble. In Latin America, he
may deprive pro-American anti-Communist
dictatorships of needed world legiti-
macy and inspire popular revolts against
them. In Eastern Europe, he may unleash
still greater forces.

Since the end of World War II, Ameri-
can policy-makers have grappled with the
problem of what to do about Eastern
Europe. The Truman administration
waged a war of dollars and words to keep
Eastern Europe within the world capital-
ist orbit, stopping short of armed interven-
tion for fear of unleashing World War III.

Henry Kissinger acknowledged the de-
feat of the Truman cold war policies and
attempted to introduce a new diplomatic
posture based upon the idea that the Sov-
iet Union and the U.S., as the two "super-
powers," each had "natural" or "organ-
ic" spheres of influence. Kissinger was ac-
cordingly reluctant to criticize Soviet be-
havior in Eastern Europe or to encourage
national revolts.

But in his pronouncements on human
rights Carter seems to be operating under
different assumptions. A recent article by
his National Security Advisor Zbigniew
Brzezinski and a study by the Brookings
Institute, a thinktank for Democratic ad-
ministrations, would suggest as much.

►Sonnenfeldt's memorandum.

The Kissinger views were most fully ex-
pressed in a February 1976 memorandum
to American ambassadors by Kissinger's
chief advisor, Helmut Sonnenfeldt. The
memorandum acknowledges the emer-
gence of the USSR as a "superpower"
with which the U.S. will have to "come to
grips." This includes recognizing that
Eastern Europe is within the "scope of
(The USSR's) natural interest."

But Soviet hegemony within Eastern
Europe has been maintained through the
"presence of sheer Soviet military power."
The memorandum adds: "There are al-
most no genuine friends of the Soviets
left in Eastern Europe, except possibly
Bulgaria." Given this situation, the area
"may sooner or later explode, causing
World War III. This area is a far greater
danger to world peace than the conflict
between East and West."

The memorandum concludes that "it
must be our policy to strive for an evo-
lution that makes the relationship between
the Eastern Europeans and the Soviet Union
an organic one." The U.S. must re-
spond "to the clearly visible aspirations in
the Western Europe for a more auton-
omous existence within the context of
strong Soviet geopolitical influence."

►Brzezinski for polycentricism.

In an article in a British journal, *Survey*
that appeared last month, Zbigniew Brze-
zinski contested Sonnenfeldt's position.
Brzezinski's crucial role in the Carter ad-
ministration suggests that the article
should be taken seriously as a basis for
Carter's policies toward Eastern Europe.

Brzezinski says that "it should be desir-
able for the United States to maintain and
expand its relationship with China and
Eastern Europe. A polycentric Commun-
ist world is a necessary component of a
more pluralist world, and polycentricism
in Communism is a precondition for the
more gradual evolution of Communist re-



Photo by Al DiFranco

Avis Clendensen, presiding speaker at women's ordination conference, Holy Name
Cathedral, Chicago, Feb. 27.

gimes into more cooperative members of
the international community. (read "in-
ternational capitalist community.")

"Accordingly, we should reiterate our
continued interest in the independence of
such states as Yugoslavia and Rumania,
and we should avoid any hints that the
*United States favors dividing the world
into exclusive spheres of influence.*"

A more extended statement of Bze-
zinski's position can be found in the re-
cently published Brookings Institute pro-
gram for the next decade, *Setting National
Priorities*, edited by Henry Owens and
Charles L. Schultze, Carters head of the
Council of Economic Advisors.

►A heritage of major wars.

The report, in common with the Sonnen-
feldt memorandum and Brzezinski, stress-
es that Eastern Europe is a key danger
area for American foreign policy. (The
others are Southern Europe, Korea, and
the Mideast.) It reminds the reader that
"nationalist pressures in Eastern Europe
have overthrown two empires...in this cen-
tury; and the death throes of these em-
pires triggered major wars."

But like Brzezinski and unlike Sonnen-
feldt, the report expects that the Soviet
Union will eventually lose its grasp over
Eastern Europe; the question that Ameri-
can policy-makers face is how to facilitate
this so that Eastern Europe is brought into
world capitalism and another world war
is avoided.

Its prescription for American action is
tentative and hesitant, based upon the au-
thors' skepticism that American power
can influence events in Eastern Europe
without a major change in Soviet aims.
It limits American activity to strong ver-
bal support of human rights and warnings
to the USSR that any intervention in East-
ern Europe would "interrupt detente."

In his comments on human rights in La-
tin America or Africa, Carter is playing to
the need many Americans feel for the reaf-
firmation of America's democratic ideals.
But in commenting on Rumanian repres-
sion or the Czech harassment of Charter
77 signers, he is also clearly departing

from the recommendations of the Sonnen-
feldt memorandum, and he is pursuing,
more aggressively, the goal of an Eastern
Europe independent of the Soviet Union.

Carter would seem to believe, with Brze-
zinski and Brookings, that in Eastern Eu-
rope the USSR's days are numbered and
that the American role should be to speed
up this process while avoiding the out-
break of war.

60 Minutes

Members of the Iranian Students Asso-
ciation in Chicago say publicity
generated by the March 6 CBS News pro-
gram *60 Minutes* has saved five ISA mem-
bers from deportation, at least temporar-
ily.

The five faced a federal judge March 9
in closed court for alleged violations of
their non-immigrant student status. Be-
fore the *60 Minutes* show, ISA members
had feared the students would be im-
mediately deported. One-half hour into
the court proceedings the judge was called
from the bench. When he returned, he
granted a continuance he had denied
minutes before, according to ISA obser-
vers.

60 Minutes reported the Shah's secret
police, SAVAK, used Chicago's police
and those of other American cities to spy
on and harass Iranian students. Police in-
telligence records obtained through a fed-
eral suit March 8 documented extensive
spying by Chicago police of ISA.

The five students were arrested at a
demonstration last November at the
French consulate, protesting arrest and
murder charges (since dropped) against
one of their members in France. They
when then charged with holding jobs il-
legally or minor violations such as failing
to re-apply for non-immigrant status on
time. If deported, the students say they
face immediate arrest and possible torture
and death in Iran, unless they find politi-
cal asylum in another country.

IN THE NATION

Labor sets its agenda

Photo by UPI

After eight years of presidential vetoes, labor now feels that it has some hope of achieving its aims.

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

In the last week of February the national leadership of the AFL-CIO gathered in Bal Harbour, Fla., to draw up their legislative agenda for the 95th Congress and for the long-awaited return of a Democratic presidency. As usual, the national press had a field day depicting the "sultans of Big Labor" practicing the "rites of winter"—telling in the sun, gambling at the racetrack and feasting on steak dinners.

Their legislative proposals have so far received mixed reviews from the media, labor relations experts, economists, and other trade union observers. One thing is certain: on many economic issues, the AFL-CIO will continue to conflict with the policies and priorities of the Carter administration.

Labor's demands include several bills passed by the last Congress and vetoed by President Ford. The most important of these is Common Site Picketing, which would allow a union to picket an entire construction site over a dispute with a single subcontractor. Union leaders also want a thorough reform of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), including repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Labor also hopes to push through a list of other bills—from raising the minimum wage to collective bargaining rights for public employees.

Observers seem to agree that the latest Bal Harbour program is basically the same set the AFL-CIO has been advocating for years. "What is different, however, is that they're on the verge of success on some of these reforms. For eight years they've had to face presidential vetoes, and there's a lot of accumulated frustration," comments one labor relations expert at the University of Illinois.

► **Won't rely on Carter.**

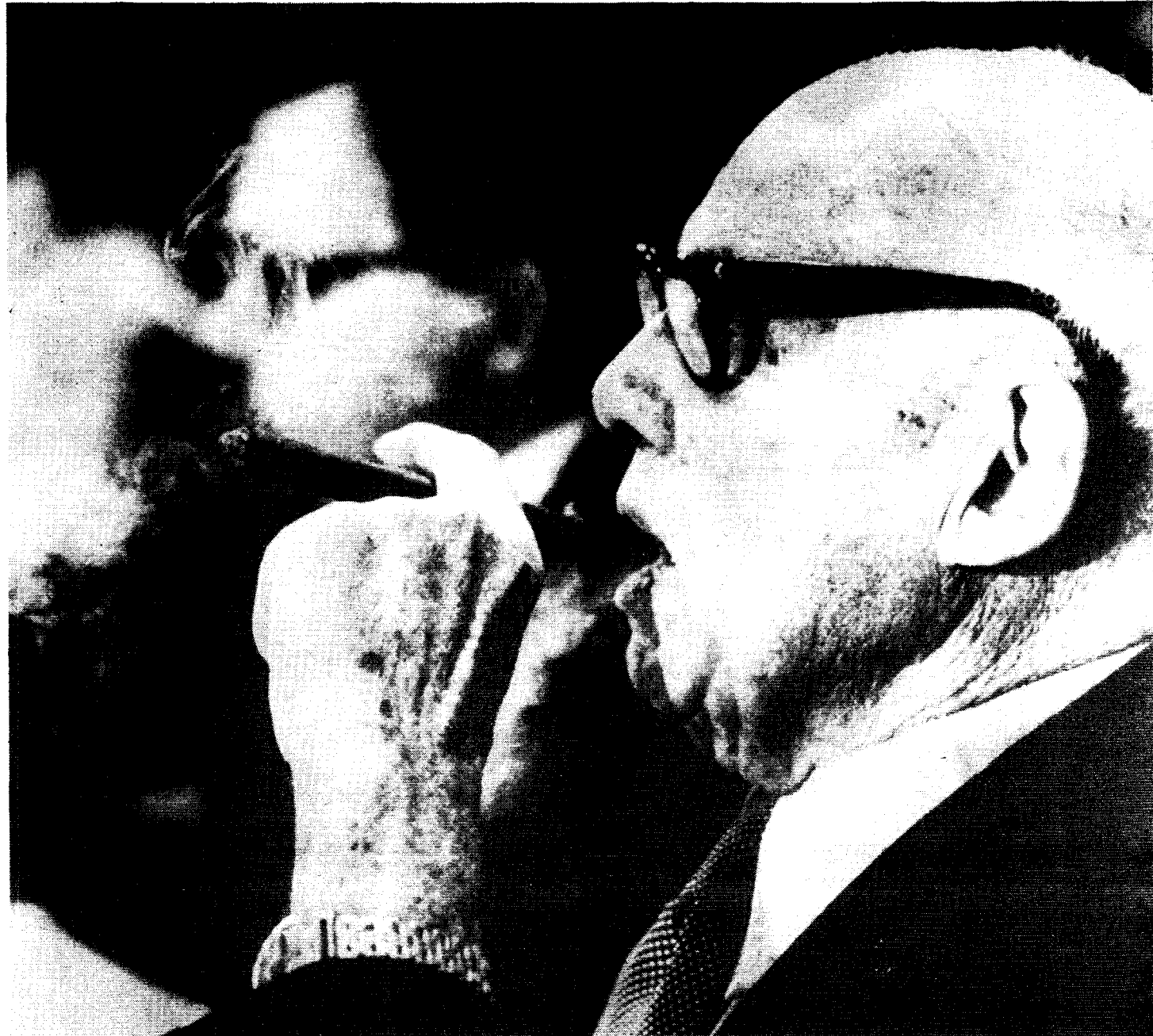
With an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress, a broadly pro-labor President and a sympathetic Secretary of Labor, AFL-CIO leaders expect much of their legislative agenda to be accepted in the next few years.

They do not intend to rely on Carter, however, to shepherd the more controversial bills through Congress. Instead, they plan to raise \$800,000 for lobbying and publicity to put pressure on Congresspeople. They do not expect Carter to oppose these efforts and when a bill is passed "I don't expect vetoes" says AFL-CIO president George Meany.

The main barrier to enactment of their full program, AFL-CIO leaders believe, is high unemployment, inflation and the sluggish economy. Their top priority remains jobs and a government committed to full employment. The AFL-CIO wants a \$30 billion economic program for public works, federal housing, job training for youth and aid to state and local governments to forestall layoffs.

► **Collision with Carter over economics.**

The AFL-CIO's first collision with Carter came in mid-January over his economic stimulus program. They scored the program as a "wage subsidy for already tax-pampered corporations" that is "too small, takes too long, and is too ill-advised



Meeting with the AFL-CIO Executive Council at Bal Harbour, federation president George Meany made clear his dissatisfaction with Carter's economic program.

to give the economy the stimulus it really needs."

Labor's economic program is a good alternative because it would "Offset the corporations' drive for permanent tax cuts and would be much more effective for creating jobs," says a retired high-level union staff member. "I think their pressure has pushed Congress to put a little more direct job creation in the stimulus program." Indeed, in February, the House and the Senate authorized an additional \$4 billion for public works programs that had been enacted in 1976.

This first confrontation over economic priorities must have been fresh in Meany's mind when he told reporters in Bal Harbour that Alan Greenspan, Ford's economic advisor, was "still over there, but he's changed his name to Charles Schultze."

► **Prenotification arouses anger.**

At issue was Carter's proposal that business and labor voluntarily inform the government of wage and price increases. Schultze, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, won Meany's disdain after he said the administration was considering legislation to implement the prenotification plan.

The Executive Council firmly rejected any prenotification scheme, viewing it as a first step towards the kind of mandatory wage controls imposed by Nixon in 1971. "This would destroy our flexibility at the bargaining table and we are completely and absolutely opposed to it. We will not cooperate," Meany declared.

The Bal Harbour meeting thus sent a strong message to Carter—labor must be consulted on any action that even looks like a step towards an incomes policy and will oppose federal intervention in con-

tracts to hold down wage increases.

The labor Executive Council also rejected Carter's call for a strengthened Council on Wage and Price Stability and suggested alternatives for holding down inflation—full employment, antitrust action to encourage competitive pricing and "adequate governmental planning to forestall future shortages and bottlenecks which contribute to inflation."

► **Oil company divestiture.**

As part of this antitrust action, the AFL-CIO urged Congress to force the oil companies to divest themselves of their total hold over the industry, "so that the companies may no longer produce as well as refine, transport and market petroleum." They called for legislation to prohibit oil companies from owning competing sources of energy.

In a related energy issue, the Council demanded that the government take over the oil import industry so that it could regulate the amount of oil imported, negotiate the price with individual countries and allocate supplies in the United States. They also support continued regulation of oil and natural gas, saying that decontrol "would place an intolerable burden on the American consumer."

Asked by reporters if these energy policies conflict with labor's traditional support of the free enterprise system, Meany replied, "Don't talk about the oil companies as examples of free enterprise!"

The AFL-CIO extended its "government ownership" perspective into the field of nursing homes at the Bal Harbour meeting. After a year-long study, the Executive Council called for the abolition of private, for-profit nursing homes and for a patient's bill of rights to insure an ade-

quate level of care. "Most of the problems in nursing homes can be traced to the profit motive, which is incompatible with social programs," they stated. "Ultimately, in order to correct the problems of nursing homes, profit must be eliminated from the nursing home industry."

► **Relieved at a Democratic President.**

These economic questions formed the backdrop of the Bal Harbour meeting. On other aspects of the AFL-CIO's legislative agenda, disagreements with the Carter administration are less extreme. "Everyone here is still relieved that a Democrat won," comments a research assistant at the AFL-CIO headquarters. "No one is particularly thrilled with Carter or the administration people they're working with, but the sense is that it is immeasurably better than working with a Republican. The tone here is still quite optimistic."

The labor leaders apparently intend to assess congressional reaction before deciding what legislative priorities to push most vigorously. They will first concentrate on "unfinished business," four bills that were passed and vetoed by President Ford. Since these measures have already had extensive public hearings, the Executive Council argued that Congress should "act expeditiously" and move on to new business.

► **Common sites bill most controversial.**

Perhaps the most controversial of these four bills is common site picketing, which would allow a union to shut down an entire construction site. Last year's bill, vetoed by Ford, included a wage stabilization section designed by John Dunlop that would give national building trade leaders greater power over local unions. As introduced by Rep. Frank Thompson

Continued on page 5.

Atlanta's black leadership falters

I was not chosen to run by any established or non-established organization. Friends of mine in this district, white and black, individuals—not any organization—came to me and said, "John Lewis, we would like you to be our candidate." No smoke-filled room, no behind the scenes.

—John Lewis

By Jon Jacobs
Atlanta Bureau

Atlanta. The race to fill the congressional seat from the Fifth District of Georgia entered its final stages this week with the outcome surprisingly in doubt. Short weeks ago John Lewis, former head of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Voter Education Project (VEP) had seemed virtually a sure bet to replace UN Ambassador Andrew Young in the Congress. However, with the election only days away, Lewis is given a less than even chance of making the projected runoff in the 12-candidate race. This spectacular political disintegration, although partially attributable to the inept campaign being run by the Lewis forces, is also a sign of a precipitous breakdown in the moral and political authority of Atlanta's traditional black leadership consortium over the city's black population.

The Fifth District of Georgia is unique. When its voters sent former M.L. King Jr. strategist Andy Young to Congress in 1972 it became one of the few majority white districts in the nation to have a black representative in Washington. Conventional wisdom here has had it that Young's election, and that of Mayor Maynard Jackson in 1973 was attributable to the ability of Atlanta's black leadership consortium, which strongly supported both candidates, to turn out massive black support for its choices. Any black candidate who could get just a few white votes, it was thought, could guarantee his election by obtaining the backing of the consortium. Thus it seemed, and some politicians have even publicly stated, that the seat was and would remain a black seat for the foreseeable future.

►A small group of friends.

Therefore, when Young informed Lewis and Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, while on a trip to Africa last year, that he would be resigning from the House, it was only natural that they should discuss who should run for the vacated post.

It must be understood that Young, Lewis and Bond are part of a small but influential group of former civil rights workers who have congregated in Atlanta and gone into politics, government bureaucracy or the foundations. Most of these individuals see electoral politics as a natural continuation of the movement and they have aided one another politically whenever possible. Consequently, according to reliable sources, Young asked Bond if he would be interested in running for the office. Bond is reported to have said that he is too controversial to win the race (probably a correct analysis) and suggested that Lewis run for the post. Assured of the backing of insurance man Jesse Hill, Delta Airlines executive John Cox, construction magnate Herman Russell, and other members of the leadership consortium, Lewis eventually agreed.

Although possessed of some chronic liabilities as a candidate (he, for example, is afflicted with terminal mumbles), Lewis' impeccable civil rights background made him seem almost a natural candidate for this particular seat. Born dirt poor, Lewis wanted to become a Baptist minister. While working his way through divinity school, he took part in the 1960 Nashville student sit-in movement which was the effective first salvo of the civil rights surge of the '60s. Developing a quick reputation as a rock-solid believer in the philosophy and tactics of non-violence, Lewis rapidly assumed a leadership position,



John Lewis discusses voter registration with Louisiana sugarcane workers.

eventually becoming head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Atlanta. SNCC was then at the cutting edge of the movement in the South and Lewis soon became known both to civil rights workers and to community people all over the South as a tireless worker who was as good as his word at all times.

Leaving SNCC as events radicalized that organization (he was replaced by Stokely Carmichael), Lewis did a brief stint as an executive with the Field Foundation before lighting at the Voter Education Project (VEP).

►A natural successor?

At VEP, Lewis led a successful effort to register literally millions of unregistered black voters all over the South. Over the years at VEP he became a most respected member of the unofficial, Atlanta-centered, national civil rights hierarchy. At the same time, his honesty, diligence in his work, and his obvious goodwill even to his avowed enemies earned for him the reputation virtually of a living saint. Additionally, due to his attendance at many national political conventions and his testimony before numerous Congressional committees, Lewis, like Young before him, was a minor national figure. Thus to some, and apparently to Lewis himself, he seemed a natural almost a pre-ordained successor to Young.

The black leadership consortium agreed and supported Lewis from the start. Apparently expecting trouble from young turk black politicians, however, they decided to start low and subtle in their support. Thus, at a December leadership meeting at Paschals, Atlanta's black political hangout, the question of support for a Fifth District candidate was not even raised until it came up from the floor, raised by an individual not involved in the consortium.

Although no pitch for black support for Lewis was made at that meeting by the consortium, the dishes had hardly been cleared away at Paschals before some of Atlanta's most restive political ambitions, long muted by the influence of the consortium, sensed political weakness and went for the jugular. State Rep. Billy McKinney, a gun-toting self-proclaimed "black redneck," immediately decried alleged attempts on the part of the consortium to "shove [the Lewis candidacy] down our throats" and declared his candidacy. Henrietta Canty, a former government bureaucrat turned private enterprise advocate, did the same.

Although the rebellion among the formerly obedient troops caught some political observers by surprise, it was still not taken seriously as a threat to the consortium's ability to turn out the black vote for Lewis. One long time observer of black politics in Atlanta told this reporter at that time, "With Daddy King (Rev. M. L. King Sr.) and those supporting Lewis, McKinney and those others might as well

campaign into a bucket." As the campaign began in January, Lewis' most dangerous competitor was seen as City Council President Wyche Fowler, a white political opportunist who apparently is breaking the law by running for the Congress without resigning his city council post. Even he was given only a medium chance of beating Lewis.

►Rosey picture fades.

This rosey picture for the Lewis camp did not last long. Blacks running against Lewis have found fertile ground for their attacks on his record. Many black Atlanta voters have apparently responded positively to the charge that Lewis, after spending years at VEP registering voters almost everywhere but Atlanta, has little claim to a Congressional seat from Georgia. Candidate Henrietta Canty explained it to IN THESE TIMES thus: "John Lewis would have done better in Alabama or Mississippi. How can someone who has been insensitive to the needs of this district be expected to know what has to be done about education problems, youth development problems, etc. when he gets to Washington?" The more eager than expected black community response to this line of argument quickly made it obvious that Lewis was not in for an easy campaign.

The Lewis campaign, thus challenged to prove its candidate deserving, has failed miserably. Lewis, as all those who know him well can attest, is a man of considerable depth of ideas. Strong views that confidants know he holds on many political issues have utterly failed to come through the high moral rhetoric with which he is campaigning. Thus shorn of hard content, the moral tone comes across from both candidate and campaign as hackneyed emotional claptrap. This reporter has known Lewis for years and yet, in an interview for this article, I could elicit no specific opinions or commitments from the candidate:

IN THESE TIMES: "Do you think your work around the South qualifies you for the Fifth District post?"

LEWIS: "My whole life has been one of helping people, particularly that segment of society that has been left out and left behind. I think my background and my experience in the South working with all people will make it more helpful and be of great assistance as I play a role in the Congress."

IN THESE TIMES: "Do you think the Fifth District seat is a black seat?"

LEWIS: "I think that this is a seat that belongs to the people of this district. It is a seat that deserves the very best. And it deserves electing a person that can bring people together and not a person who intends to separate and divide people whether that person be black or that person be white. I believe I represent the very best in this district."

►An incompetent campaign.

This has been Lewis' campaign slogan—

"Let's send the best to Congress." But, with Lewis delivering pithy sentiments all over town, even the least sophisticated audiences to whom he has been speaking have sometimes become restive. Many of his most ardent supporters, people who from their personal experience with the candidate and their faith in him as an individual know that he is a political progressive without any trace of cold war mentality, are wondering what his incompetent campaigning says about his ability to represent his politics successfully in Washington. And, more importantly, spot checks confirm the generally held feeling that those black candidates saying Lewis is not the person for the job are getting more numerous and appreciative audiences as the campaign goes down to the wire.

The extent to which the incompetence of the Lewis campaign has startled the Atlanta progressive community cannot be overstated. Although his campaign staff contains many veterans of successful electoral campaigns, including Jimmy Carter's, some of the most basic and mechanical election tasks have not been done, or have not been started until dangerously late. Even a satellite campaign office in lily-white North Atlanta was only recently opened, seemingly as an afterthought. But, perhaps most damaging, it doesn't appear that anyone in the campaign is telling the candidate that his bumbling, mumbling speaking style, combined with his sonorously empty prose, are an embarrassment even to his closest supporters. Certainly, if anyone has told Lewis, no change in his style has resulted.

►Still some hope for Lewis.

As bleak as things look, however, Lewis staffers hold out some hope. Many supporters who initially thought Lewis would walk away with the seat have become involved with the campaign as it has become obvious the candidate is in a life-and-death struggle. Wyche Fowler, his chief white opponent, is beset by public doubts about the legality of his candidacy. And, although the late entry of former SCLC head Ralph Abernathy into the race may be splintering Lewis' support even more than previously thought, the recent endorsement of Lewis by Ambassador Young is seen by some campaign workers as the shot in the arm needed to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. As we go to press, polls are showing Lewis, Fowler, and liberal Republican Paul Coverdell in a dead heat. Lewis staffers, although admitting that they have somehow frittered away an almost certain win still believe their election day "Get 'em to the polls" system will get Lewis at least into a runoff. And, as one Lewis staffer told IN THESE TIMES, "[If we get into a runoff] it will be hard to beat Fowler all right, but maybe we can do it. First we've got to get into the runoff—by the skin of our teeth if we do it."

If John Lewis is not elected, the nation will lose the services of a progressive young black man in Congress. Whether he pulls it out or not, however, the rocky start and patchy support for his campaign has shown that the black consortium, which several years ago replaced the white Chamber of Commerce as Atlanta's main political locus, no longer wields the automatic power it once did. And, with mayoral elections in October of this year and the white business community red hot to regain City Hall, re-election for the less than universally popular Mayor Jackson seems less than a sure bet. Unless the old consortium and the up-and-coming young turk blacks can reach an accommodation and present a united candidacy in October, the Atlanta black community faces the possibility of, in the space of nine months, losing both the Fifth District seat and the mayoralty. Few doubt that this double whammy could be a crippling blow to the new and fragile tradition of black political power in the "New South." ■

Photo by Archie Allen/Southern Exposure

Labor's tough line on defense, dissidents and nukes

Cold War ideology and concern for the immediate jobs of union members took precedence over other considerations in the labor leaders' decisions.

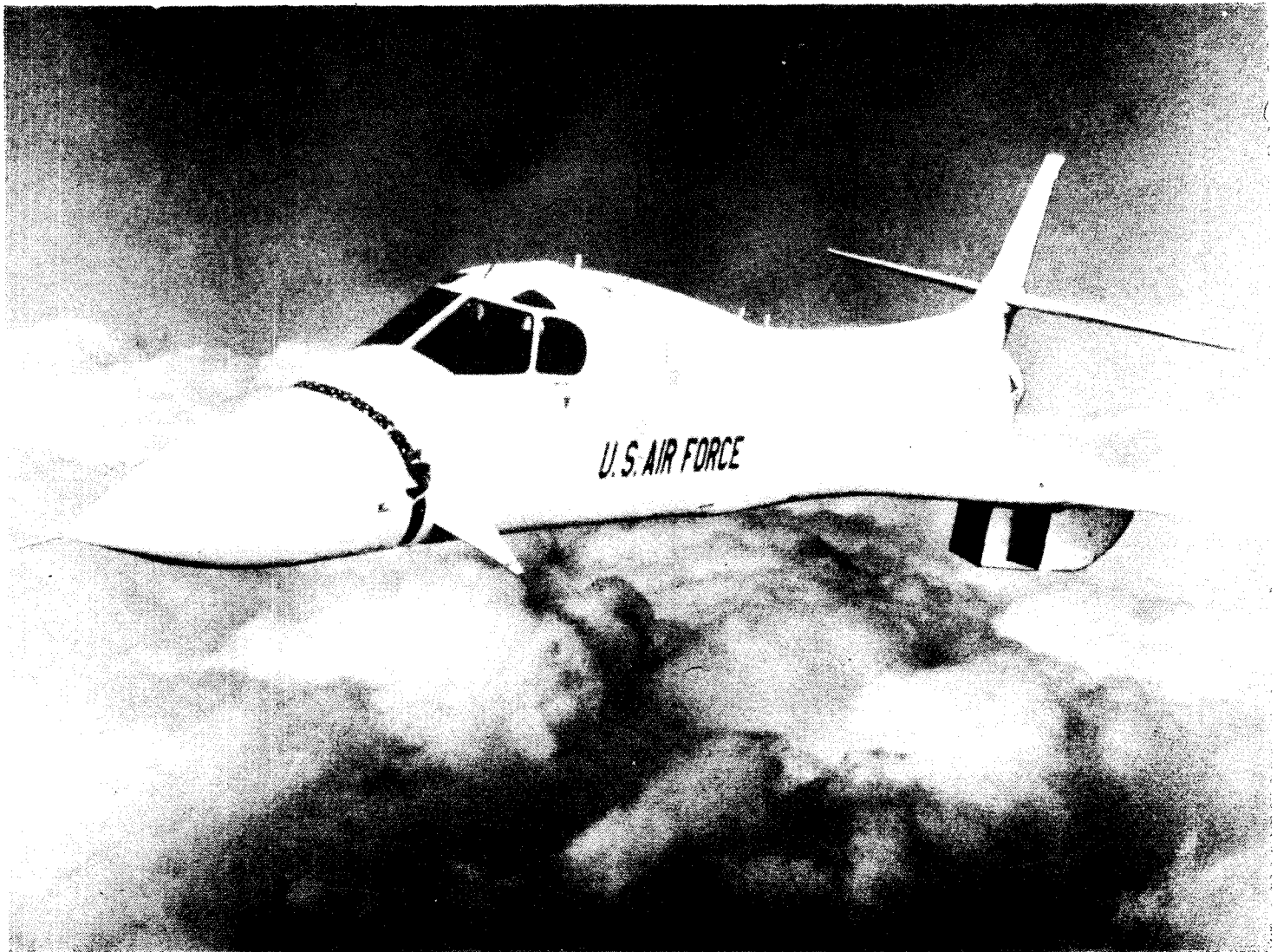
In addition to outlining future legislative goals, the Bal Harbour AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting reaffirmed support for increased defense spending, further development of nuclear power and the rights of dissidents in the Soviet Union. On these issues, Cold War ideology and concern for the immediate jobs of union members took precedence over other considerations.

Prominent union leaders have been actively involved in the Committee on the Present Danger, a 141-member organization that views the Soviet Union as "the principal threat to our nation, to world peace, and to the cause of human freedom..." The committee proposes higher levels of defense spending so that the U.S. will regain a "stable balance of forces" with the Soviets, the only "strong foundation" for American diplomacy. Committee members sitting on the AFL-CIO Executive Council include Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer, Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and Sol Chaikin of the International Ladies Garment Workers (ILGWU).

►The B-1 essential.

In accord with this Cold War outlook, the Executive Council backed full funding for the B-1 bomber program, widely criticized as expensive, unnecessary and of marginal security value. "We believe the B-1 program is essential if the United States is to have the best possible bargaining position" in arms limitation talks, the AFL-CIO said. They stressed that their support was not based on job creation, since "similar expenditures in other areas could provide as many and perhaps even more jobs."

Within the Executive Council, however, the vote did not go as smoothly as Meany had expected. One member tried to table the resolution and six others voted against it. This is quite unusual because Meany seldom makes proposals unless he is certain they will pass unanimously. Observers speculate that the no votes included A.F. Grospiron of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW),



The Executive Council backed full funding for the B-1 bomber program, stressing that it was not because of the jobs involved but because of the national security question.

Jerry Wurf of Municipal Workers (AFSCME), and Glenn Watts of the Communications Workers (CWA).

"The vote on the Executive Council about the B-1 may be the beginning of something significant. The turnover in the leadership of some unions may turn things around," comments one former union staff member. He believes—despite statements to the contrary—that labor's defense policy flows from the union leaders' concern for jobs and that those who differ with Meany's anti-communist politics would still approve more defense spending.

►Support for Soviet dissidents and nuclear power.

The Executive Council also denounced human rights violations in the Soviet Union and welcomed Vladimir Bukovsky, a recently-exiled Soviet dissident, to the Bal Harbour meeting. Bukovsky applauded U.S. labor unions for defending human rights as far back as 1947, when they "collected the testimonies of a great many

former Soviet political prisoners and published the first map of Gulag Archipelago." Meany hopes to sponsor visits by Bukovsky to other trade union centers.

AFL-CIO leaders also discussed environmental issues in Bal Harbour and backed the construction of more nuclear power plants. They expect the future construction of these plants to generate 700,000 jobs by the year 2000. Assailing the safe nuclear power movement for its "no-growth" philosophy, union leaders worked against nuclear safe-guard initiatives across the country last November.

Ironically, critics of nuclear power have pointed out that it is a relatively capital-intensive industry that employs mostly skilled technicians. One study found that 40 percent more jobs would be created in the construction of coal-fired plants.

Ignoring economic difficulties facing nuclear power, (like the spiraling cost of uranium) and widespread revelations about the dangers of nuclear waste, the Executive Council called for speedy de-

velopment of nuclear power to meet future energy needs and lessen U.S. dependence on oil from the Middle East.

Ralph Helstein, President Emeritus of the Packinghouse Workers, also believes that labor policies on defense and energy flow from leaders' concern for their members' jobs. "There are no simplistic answers on why these people do it," he says.

"Part of the difficulty with these kinds of questions is that people who object to the enlargement of armaments or certain attitudes on ecology, have little regard for where the jobs that are presently provided are going to come from.

"There's no question that Meany's orientation has generally been that of a cold warrior on most questions, and continues to be. A few negative votes on the B-1 is not proof that the Executive Council is beginning to open up on foreign policy. There has to be the support in the country for the kinds of programs that make sure people have jobs."

—Dan Marshall

Labor sets its agenda at Bal Harbour meeting

For Northern Republicans, support for right-to-work laws means support for runaway shops.

Continued from page 3.

of New Jersey, this year's bill deletes the wage stabilization part.

But construction union leaders like Robert Georgine, head of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Dept., reportedly support the stabilization provision although they cannot publicly back such restrictions on the power of feisty, independent-minded locals. *Business Week* speculates that union leaders are depending on Ray Marshall, the new Secretary of Labor, to propose the stabilization provision as the price of administration sup-

port. In any event, the bill is expected to emerge from congressional committee in exactly the same form as last year.

Other parts of this "unfinished business" include removal of Hatch Act restrictions on the political activity of public employees, a requirement that 30 percent of all imported oil be carried on U.S. ships and federal regulation of strip mining.

►Repeal of 14(b).

The AFL-CIO will also push for reform of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). At the Bal Harbour meeting, they decided to support an "omnibus bill" that combines changes in Board procedures with repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This bill will supersede Frank Thompson's Labor Reform Act of 1977 (ITT, Feb. 9).

Section 14(b) allows states to pass right-to-work laws and undercuts union security. Its repeal has not been strongly pushed by the AFL-CIO since the mid-1960s, when their effort was filibustered to death in the Senate. Organizations like the Na-

tional Right to Work Committee are gearing up to defeat repeal and some observers say that the demand may be dropped in exchange for passage of the rest of the omnibus bill.

There are some indications, however, that prospects for repeal of 14(b) are better than ever and that there may actually be a sharp fight over it. Ray Marshall supported such a change in Senate confirmation hearings and Carter has promised to sign it into law if it passes the Congress. Within the labor movement, pressure for repeal is especially strong from service employee unions that represent workers in many small workplaces. Right-to-work laws make it difficult for them to hold on to new members, since the ban on the union shop allows workers to refuse to pay union dues. If the AFL-CIO dumps the demand, they could catch a lot of flack from these influential quickly-growing unions.

►Republicans reassessing right-to-work.

In addition, some Republican politicians

are beginning to reassess their past anti-labor records. Rep. Robert Michel of Illinois recently told his GOP colleagues that they ought to take a "fresh look" at voting against repeal of 14(b) this time around. Conservative columnists Evans and Novak point out that northern Republicans who support the right-to-work just encourage business to move from their home states to the overwhelmingly Democratic South. With organized labor "splitting into clear right and left factions," they argue that "Republicans must take some pro-union positions, even at the cost of a scruple or two."

These are some of the highlights of the AFL-CIO legislative program as it emerged from Bal Harbour. The union leaders will also demand reforms in the Fair Labor Standards Act, including a 35-hour week and a higher minimum wage indexed to the cost of living. Other demands include expanding federal aid to mass transit, prohibiting discrimination against pregnant women and removing the barriers to voter participation. ■

WOMEN



The takeover of a building by the women's movement in 1971. The FBI was certainly there.

Photo by Jane Melnick

The FBI campaign against women

By Sidney Blumenthal

Protecting national security often requires extraordinary measures. A 1969 FBI memorandum to J. Edgar Hoover details in concise, business-like language the report of an informer: "[Name deleted] states that at 10:50 a.m. one old-model gray charter bus with no name on it but containing telephone number GO3-4352 on the side, departed Union Square, NYC, with about 35 to 38 girls for the WLM activity at Atlantic City. A new black foreign-type station wagon believed to be a Volkswagen departed at the same time as the bus with four girls." Everything about this case seems ominous; even the identity of the Volkswagen is mysterious. Yet the suspects surveilled by the FBI did not hide their mission; they advertised it, painting a phone number on their bus.

The girls in question were feminists traveling to the Miss America Pageant to walk the Atlantic City boardwalk with picket signs. Since the 1968 feminist demonstration at the Miss America Pageant, in which brassiers were flung into a trash barrel, the FBI was alerted to potential disruption of this national spectacle. For the next three years, through 1971, the Bureau's agents manned the Atlantic City boardwalk and convention hall, on the lookout for "WLM activity"—that is, the Women's Liberation Movement.

►Four years of spying.

For four years, from 1969 to 1973, the FBI infiltrated, spied on and analyzed many manifestations of what the Bureau called the "WLM," according to documents released under the freedom of information Act at the request of the *Los Angeles Times*. The 1,370 pages of FBI documents, replete with glaring omissions, disclose for the first time the extent of FBI espionage carried on against feminists.

The FBI comprehensively monitored feminist activity, collecting pamphlets such as "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm" and newspapers of the most ephemeral, peripheral groups. Federal agents attended countless rallies, recording names of individuals, taking photographs and making notes from the speeches. Women's groups from the large National Organization of Women to the obscure New York WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy From Hell), were regarded as equal menaces and were subject to FBI spying.

Women's Liberation Movement is not an organization but rather a philosophy and movement. It has no organized aims or purposes other than a general desire to improve the social, political and economic status of women." Hoover,

Justifying the FBI surveillance of the women's movement, Hoover wrote: "Interwoven in its goals for equal rights for women is the advocacy of violence to achieve these goals."

Most of the FBI's efforts occurred in major cities—Boston, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Kansas City—but feminist groups in towns like Limerick, Oregon, were not overlooked.

In justifying his order to FBI bureaus to maintain strict "WLM" watches, J. Edgar Hoover wrote in May, 1970: "The WLM emerged as a loosely structured but nationwide feminine activist movement comprised of women ranging from liberal to radical extremism. Interwoven in its goals for equal rights for women is the advocacy of violence to achieve these goals. The WLM has demonstrated readiness to support other extremist or revolutionary-type organizations and has established ties with Canadian counterparts."

This reference to foreign links aroused Hoover's keen sense of conspiracy. "In view of the above," he wrote, "it is absolutely essential that we conduct sufficient investigation to clearly establish subversive ramifications of the WLM and to determine the potential for violence presented by this movement as well as any possible threat to the internal security of the United States."

►Not all offices believed.

Despite Hoover's demand that his agents uncover violent plots there is not a single one documented in the reams of FBI materials.

Not all of the FBI's bureaus believed, along with Hoover, that the feminist movement fit the subversive mold. The San Francisco and Chicago offices asked Hoover that they be dropped from the "WLM" intelligence program. An agent

in the Chicago bureau explained, "The however, did not agree with this assessment and directed that the program against the "WLM" proceed immediately.

The San Francisco FBI office took a different tack. Rather than presenting a security challenge to America, it argued, feminists threatened to disrupt the fragile structure of the New Left. "The Women's Liberation Movement," an agent from that bureau wrote to Hoover, "may be considered as subversive to the New Left and revolutionary movements, as it has proven to be a divisive and factionizing factor. The women question is consuming more and more time and discussion as the precepts and premises of this movement are psychological and introspective. It could be well-recommended as a counterintelligence movement."

►A one-dimensional conspiracy mindset.

This analysis did not jive with Hoover's notion of social movements, which he conceived as fitting a one-dimensional traitorous pattern. The FBI Director was unprepared to abandon ideas he had operated on since the Red Scare of 1919, the real break in his career. He observed the antique dogma about the Communist menace religiously.

In 1970 a group called D.C. Women's Liberation pasted a poster on the walls of the then unfinished FBI building now named after J. Edgar Hoover, which was addressed as "An Open Letter to Martha Mitchell." The outspoken wife of Attorney General John Mitchell had informed a Washington newspaper, "I think I'm going to join the women's lib-

eration movement. As a woman, I have a right to speak up and be heard." Feminists advised her that the movement was ready to welcome her, but warned that she might eventually alter her views about her husband, a position that Martha Mitchell unhappily arrived at later under difficult circumstances.

Diligent FBI agents scraped the poster off of their future headquarters and forwarded it to Hoover, who promptly sent it to John Mitchell with a letter expounding on the irrefutable ties between Women's Liberation and the Kremlin.

"Enclosed is a copy of a flyer obtained by a representative of this Bureau," he wrote, explaining that "WLM" originated around 1965, citing the *Washington Star* as his source. One of the movement's founders, he noted, was Marilyn Webb, then a member of Students for a Democratic Society and Washington correspondent for the *Guardian*, a radical weekly. The 1961 *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities identified the *Guardian* as the official organ established by the American Labor Party (the New York wing of the Progressive Party) in 1947. "It has manifested itself," Hoover triumphantly wrote to Mitchell, "as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia." Hoover's logic was undeniable; only his facts were wrong. By 1961 the Progressive Party had long been out of existence and the *Guardian* was an independent publication with no allegiance to any organization.

The quality of J. Edgar Hoover's understanding of the Women's Liberation Movement was replicated by many of the FBI agents who spied on feminist meetings. One agent transmitted a report to his bureau noting the distribution of a pamphlet at a gathering about a strange substance, which he called "sex rolls." It was because of the potential danger of these unpredictable new "rolls" that the FBI was on guard.

(First of a two-part series)

Sidney Blumenthal is the editor of *Government by Gunplay* (New American Library).

THE LAW

Congress considering grand jury reforms

By San Pizzigati

Washington D.C. While President Jimmy Carter scours the world for violations of human rights to censure, a House Judiciary subcommittee this month begins hearings on one of the world's most sophisticated instruments of political repression: the U.S. federal grand jury.

This little understood institution may not get the media attention that Soviet mental wards or Chilean racks enjoy, but when it comes to wreaking havoc in the lives and work of "dissidents," the modern grand jury has few equals—as any number of feminists, Native American organizers, scholars, reporters, Puerto Rican independistas, striking trade unionists and aggressive defense attorneys, among others, can attest.

Three years after the dawning of Post-Watergate America, federal authorities have at their disposal, thanks to the grand jury, the legal ways and means to not only fish indiscriminately through people's personal and political lives, but also to indefinitely jail those who resist, without ever having to bother charging, let alone proving, that an offense has been committed.

Raisa Nemikin and Maria Cueto, New York City staff members for the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, are the latest to learn the grand jury lesson, and their case is a textbook example of how the grand jury trap door to prison works.

►Theoretically, they could be jailed for life.

Last November the two women were approached by FBI agents and quizzed about a former colleague, a suspect in the FBI's hunt for the FALN, a tiny band of bombing-prone Puerto Rican independistas.

The Bureau apparently wasn't satisfied with the answers Nemikin and Cueto gave, and they were pressured to be more "cooperative." But the two women, convinced that the FBI was out to undermine their church work in the Hispanic community and to discredit the Puerto Rican independence movement, refused to answer any more FBI questions, their legal right.

For that show of defiance, the Bureau had Nemikin and Cueto subpoenaed before a federal grand jury sitting in Manhattan where, in mid-February, a U.S. Attorney posed the same questions the FBI had asked. When the women refused to answer, they were "immunized" and ordered to testify.

Neither did, and now both are in jail. Theoretically, they could stay behind bars for the rest of their lives. Immunized witnesses who refuse to testify can be kept incarcerated for whatever remains of the grand jury's term in whose name they have been found in contempt, in this case, 14 months. But as soon as one grand jury expires, silent witnesses can be hauled before another, and the process can start all over again.

The legal team backing Nemikin and Cueto fought their slide to prison every step of the way with motions and appeals, but their efforts were doomed to fail, and they knew it. The courts have ruled repeatedly over recent years that there is no need for due process safeguards inside the grand jury room. It is this judicial see-no-evil posture that has led grand jury reformers to Congress.

►Established in Bill of Rights.

Congress is a more than fitting forum for grand jury debate. It was the Congress, after all, that originally constitutionalized the grand jury in 1789 when it framed the Bill of Rights. "No person," read the Fifth Amendment's first clause, "shall be held to answer for a serious crime unless an independent community panel—the grand jury—first decides that enough evidence exists to warrant further prosecution."

Requiring a grand jury indictment, the



Raisa Nemikin, a staff member for the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, is one of the latest victims of a systematic campaign to use the grand jury to force people to give information to the government.

Photo by LNS

theory went, would prevent prosecutors from bringing their enemies to trial on trumped-up charges or covering up the crimes of their friends. Subsequent practice has proved quite different. Instead of scrutinizing prosecutorial conduct, grand juries have rubberstamped it, and the clear domination over grand jury proceedings that prosecutors have achieved has sparked frequently bitter critiques of the grand jury system down through the years.

What turned the dissatisfaction from a rumble to a roar was the introduction of "immunity" into the grand jury process. Before the 1950s, immunity, the government's pledge not to prosecute a witness in exchange for testimony otherwise protected by the Fifth Amendment right not to bear witness against oneself, was used only by federal regulatory agencies. There was no immunity in the Federal Criminal Code. Inside the grand jury chamber, the Fifth Amendment was an effective shield for witnesses confronted by hostile and abusive prosecutors.

This Fifth Amendment "rights to silence" is a bedrock of our criminal justice legal philosophy, but to the witch-hunters who terrorized American progressives in the early years of the cold war, the Fifth was a haven for "pinkos" and "reds."

►Immunize away Fifth Amendment rights.

Congress' answer was a 1954 act that gave the government the power to immunize away the Fifth Amendment rights of witnesses suspected of "subversive" crimes.

Richard Nixon must have been pleased at this turn of events for in 1970 he helped push through a timid Congress the Organized Crime Control Act, an ill-considered piece of legislation that made immunity applicable to investigation of any offense in the Criminal Code.

Nixon's new law also created what is commonly called "use immunity." Under it, a witness compelled to talk by an immunity order can still be prosecuted, with the only catch being that the government cannot actually use what the witness says either directly or indirectly.

With use immunity on the books, the Fifth Amendment had, in effect, been declared off limits inside the grand jury

chamber, a disastrous development since the Fifth Amendment was essentially the only legal right that still separated the grand jury room from the infamous Star Chamber of yore. The government already had de facto authority to call anyone before the grand jury at any time without the slightest advance notice or warning. Inside the grand jury chamber, the prerogatives of government prosecutors were even broader. They could introduce hearsay or illegally seized evidence that would be inadmissible in a normal court of law, make off-the-record comments to bias grand jurors against a witness and ask witnesses, who never need be told why they have been called or be allowed to have an attorney present during questioning, anything they choose.

►Campaign of abuse.

The grand jury was put to quick use. Between 1970 and 1977, the Justice Department's Internal Security Division staged a nationwide campaign against the left, using its new grand jury powers to launder illegal wiretaps, fill intelligence dossiers, disrupt dissenters' activities and jail those who wouldn't cooperate. Nixon's Watergate preoccupations temporarily ended this grand jury frenzy, but early in 1975 the grand jury tactics began to reappear, and since then observers have catalogued a steady stream of abuses.

Indeed, government agencies like the FBI have become quite brazen about their manipulation of the grand jury's compulsory process authority. Agents routinely serve grand jury subpoenas to people who won't answer their questions, and when it's papers, not testimony the FBI is after, the grand jury is equally handy. Rather than approach judges for search warrant approval, FBI agents obtain a grand jury subpoena *duces tecum* from a friendly U.S. attorney. This gives them access to the records they want, no questions asked.

During the early stages of Maria Cueto's harassment by the FBI, for instance, she was served with a subpoena ordering her to give the grand jury all the records, documents, reports and notes of her employer, the Episcopal Hispanic Commission, between 1970 and 1973, including the names and addresses of all persons who had been involved with the Commission, wholly or in part, and the names and

addresses of all persons attending these meetings.

►Now question of what kind of reform.

The drive to end abuses like these now includes a wide sweep of legal and lay national organizations, even the conservative American Bar Association. The ABA was slated to adopt a strong reform resolution at its February convention in Seattle, but tabled the vote after Attorney General Griffin Bell made a last-minute plea for more time to study the issue.

So far, no one knows exactly where Bell will fall on the grand jury question. His predecessor, Edward Levi, opposed every significant proposal reformers have advanced when he testified before the House last June. But with reform sentiment swelling, a continued Justice Department stonewall is unlikely. The question is not whether we'll have reform, but what kind.

►Eilberg bill.

In the House, Rep. Joshua Eilberg's (D-Pa.) Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship and International Law, has grand jury jurisdiction, and Eilberg himself is the sponsor of an omnibus reform package. Eilberg's bill would allow a witness' attorney inside the grand jury room, limit contempt confinements to six months and restrict the government's ability to indiscriminately subpoena whomsoever it wishes by establishing grounds on which witnesses could have punitive and other improper subpoenas quashed.

Eilberg's H.R. 94 would also abolish "use" immunity in favor of the more traditional "transactional" immunity, which guarantees an immunized witness full protection from future prosecution (except for perjury). In addition, Eilberg's proposal sets out guidelines for judicial review of all immunity orders sought by the government.

But many reformers wonder how effective judicial review of immunity orders would be in keeping political activists out of jail.

Existing evidence is not encouraging. The district court judge who found Nemikin and Cueto in contempt was Marvin E. Frankel, an oft-quoted jurist who wrote a widely acclaimed 1975 magazine article in favor of grand jury reform.

(Besides Nemikin and Cueto, the list of currently incarcerated political activists includes Jay Weiner, a radical sportswriter now in his fourth month behind bars in Pennsylvania.)

►Need "consensual" immunity.

The only immunity reform that can provide absolute protection for the right to silence, say reformers, is the abolition of the practice of forcing immunity onto unwilling witnesses. Making immunity "consensual," that is, conditional upon the consent of the witness to be immunized, is the single strongest change in grand jury procedure that could be made.

"When we give prosecutors the power to force people to answer their questions, the result is predictable," says Rep. John Conyers, Jr. (D-Mich.), the primary sponsor of H.R. 3736, an omnibus reform bill that includes a consensual immunity provision. "Some prosecutors will use this power to demand the answers to questions they should not be asking, and that is exactly what has happened."

Eilberg's subcommittee is scheduled to continue grand jury deliberations through this spring, and House consideration of its final product is probable this session. In the Senate, James Abourezk (D-S.D.) is expected to introduce an omnibus reform bill within a month. Full Senate action, though, is unlikely before the House has moved.

More information on the grand jury reform drive is available from the Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse, 105 Second St., NE, Washington, DC 20002.

Sam Pizzigati, former editor of the *Newfield* (NY) *News*, is co-director of the Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse in Washington.

LABOR

Confrontation with Stevens' Board

By Mimi Conway

New York. While the J.P. Stevens Board of Directors met March 1 with a record 550 shareholders, many of them activists from church and labor groups, 3,500 protesters ringed the Stevens Tower carrying signs and banners protesting the textile giant's labor and equal employment opportunity policies. Because of its union-busting tactics, J.P. Stevens has become the object of the largest boycott ever undertaken by organized labor (ITT, Nov. 29).

Stevens board chairman James D. Finley, in his address to the meeting, gave no indication of any change in Steven's anti-union stance. His address suggested that the company will employ a novel tactic in countering the charges against it that it is the number one labor law violator in U.S. history.

In his prepared address, Finley said, "We do not claim to be perfect. We do not claim that we have always been right. There have been occasions when we made interpretations of the labor laws which we fully believed at the time to be correct and the Labor Board later disagreed. We have made mistakes in the past."

And then Finley added, "And we will probably make mistakes of judgment in the future."

►A matter of economic justice?

Finley addressed some of his remarks to the five religious organizations holding 42,618 shares who submitted two proposals requesting information on Stevens equal employment opportunity and labor policies and practices. "I say to all these groups: reevaluate your position with the greatest possible objectivity. This is *not* a social cause. This is *not* a matter of economic justice." (Textile workers are the lowest paid of any U.S. industrial worker. And textiles is the only American industry that is not organized.)

A number of Stevens mill workers, charging that they were fired for union activities or because of discrimination, addressed the meeting. One of them was a licensed minister in the Ame Zion church, who worked nearly five years as a supply clerk at Stevens' Montgomery, Al., plant.

He was fired last October. The company claims he was fired for lateness. Rev. Pinkard maintains it was because of his union activities. He also charges that he was discriminated against because of race. Twice he trained men to be supervisors, while he never got even a single merit wage increase.

Rev. Pinkard addressed the Stevens board chairman Finley: "I always trained the supervisor to be my supervisor. And I always asked the question 'Why? Why not me?' And they'd say, 'You're not ready.' If I'm not ready to run the job, how can I train another man to run the job? Also, you stated that the majority of J.P. Stevens workers do not want a union. If this is the case, why does your company continually brutalize people?"

Finley: "How many questions are you going to put into this one question?"

Pinkard: "Well, you're a smart man. You can take two questions at a time."

Finley: "It is our policy, as a matter of fact, to promote from within the company with the people we have and without regard to race, creed or anything else. We try to do this. We've made some, ah, misjudgments along the way. I think I said in my speech, we are subject to misjudgments."

Pinkard: "Well now, you know and I know that that has not been the policy. Why didn't you investigate this thing? You're the top executive. I say, why not find out?"

Finley: "I have no way of knowing about things of that type. It's just impossible for me to know."

Pinkard: "Well, now you know. If you were chairman of my company, and you did not know what was going on in the company, I'd suggest we get a new chairman."

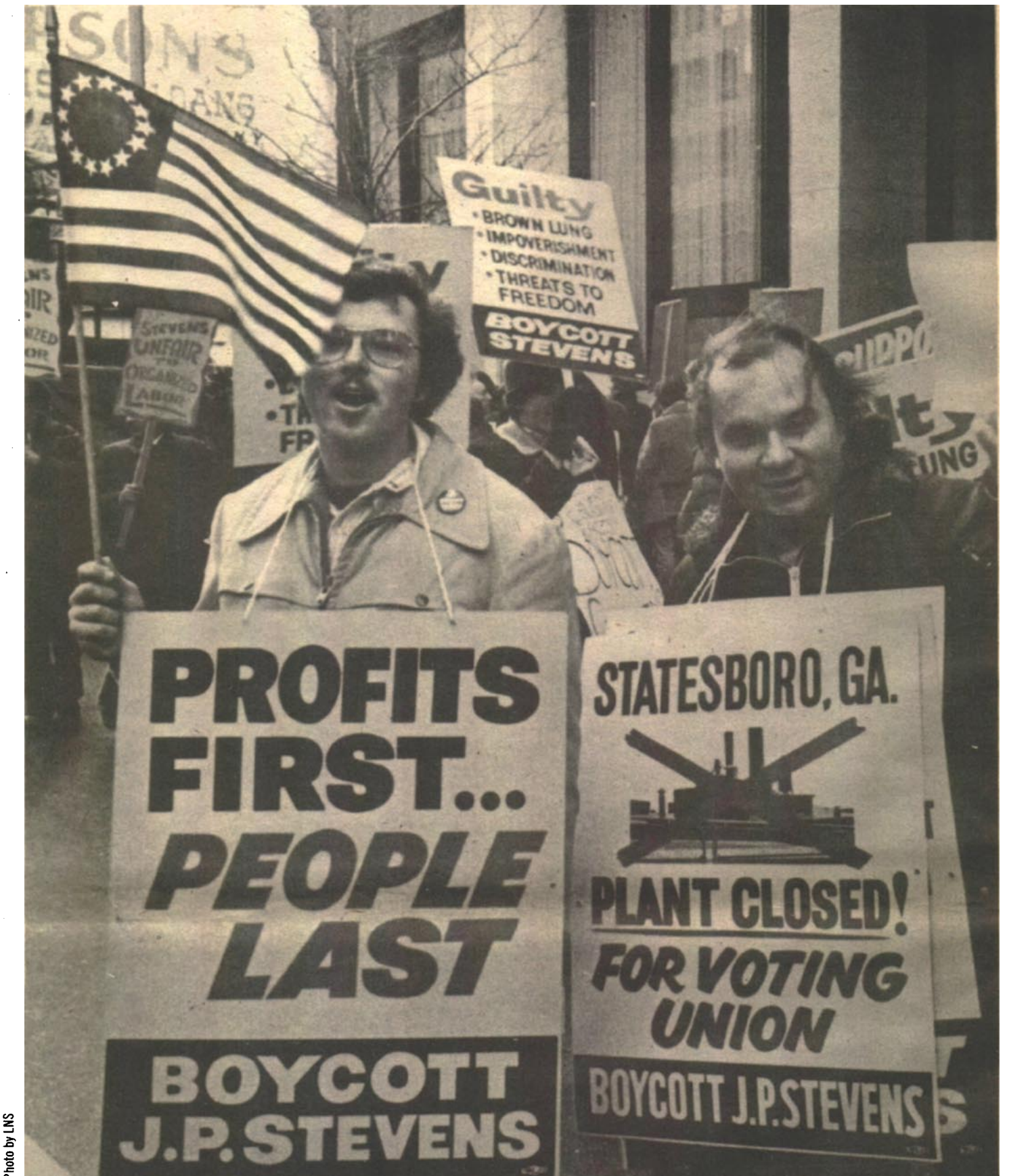


Photo by LNS

While a record 550 shareholders quizzed the Stevens Board of Directors on their antiunion policies, 3,500 protestors ringed the Stevens Tower in New York.

Shareholder addressing Finley: "Mr. Chairperson—"

Finley: "Chairman, if you please."

Another Stevens worker stepped to the microphone. She is from a plant that the company closed down after the union was awarded representation rights following a federal court finding of "massive" unfair labor practices on the part of the company.

"Mr. Finley, my name is Mary Frances Bradley. I'm one of your employees from the Statesboro plant. I'd like to ask you a question on salary. The proxy statement says you were paid \$240,000 in 1975 and \$380,000 in 1976. That's a 60 percent increase. The workers only got a 10 percent raise. Why?"

Finley: "Well, the best way I can explain it is that that was incentive compensation."

Bradley: "Well, why don't we get it?"

Finley: "I want to explain it, but I cannot if you interrupt. We have an outside board of directors committee who arrive at the amount of compensation given to directors. They work with outside consulting firms to ascertain that we are correct in what we are doing, and I'm assured that my salary and my rank are in line with all corporations of my size and complexity."

►Church challenges.

Church group representatives also challenged Finley. Timothy Smith, the director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, which is sponsored by the

National Council of Churches, said, "Mr. Finley, you know and I want our fellow shareholders to know that we have formally protested that you are misleading the shareholders here. You said in the proxy statement that 'It is management's belief that the resolutions [put forth by the five religious organizations] were suggested by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.'"

Finley: "Could you speak to that, Mr. Grady?" (James Grady Jr. is Steven's General Counsel.)

Smith: "Sir, I wish to express my comments to Mr. Grady. I think he said that the SEC (the Security and Exchange commission governs, among other things, the kind of issues a resolution on a proxy statement can deal with and the form it must take) states that there were no misleading comments in the proxy statement. The letter we received from the SEC said that there may have been some misleading statements in the proxy statement."

"I think it is fair to say, and I want to put our position on the record, these statements are false and misleading. They make the vote null and invalid, and I would suggest that management should not vote its shares."

Grady: "I didn't say that the SEC approved. I was careful to say that the SEC interposed no objections in the use of that language."

Finley: "A boycott can only hurt the people who are working. Look at the re-

cord."

Shareholder calling out: "Look at Far-ah!"

The workers themselves, religious groups and others spoke out at the meeting. So did labor representatives. William DuChessi, executive vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, said to James Finley: "now let me say this to you, as we march down this long road: if it takes ten years, 15 years, 20 years, maybe after you and I are gone."

Finley, smiling, interrupts him: "We will be."

DuChessi: "—J.P. Stevens is going to be made to live up to the law and recognize the aspirations of its employees. I promise you that."

A worker from the Stevens' Statesboro, Ga., plant, Myrtle Cribbs, got in the last question before the meeting ended. "Mr. Finley, what is the mandatory retirement age for the board of directors?"

Finley: "65."

Cribbs: "How old are you?"

Finley: "60."

Many shareholders together: "We have five more years of you. We'll be here. Five more years."

Finley: "Well, unless I have any objects to the contrary, I'd like to declare this meeting closed."

Stevens stock fell to a record 1976-1977 low the day of the meeting.

Mimi Conway is a writer who lives and works in North Carolina and Tennessee.

IN THE WORLD

Indian election shakes Gandhi rule

By Robert A. Manning

As India's 320-million voters gear for the March 16 parliamentary elections, a huge 5-day operation involving 1.5 million election supervisory workers at 373,000 polling places, both sides were locked in an extremely close contest suggesting that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has gotten much more than she bargained for.

Whether or not Gandhi's Congress Party wins a slim majority of the 542 seats in Parliament, close Gandhi advisors expect no more than 300 or so seats. The election campaign has placed the Congress Party in deep trouble.

When Indira Gandhi gave her surprise call for elections in late January, her opposition, disarmed and largely silenced during the past 20-month state of emergency rule, was caught offguard. Many analysts held that given the element of surprise, the disarray of the opposition, the short eight-week campaign, and the resources and party machinery at Gandhi's command, she and the Congress Party would sweep the election hands down.

But since Mrs. Gandhi "relaxed" the emergency measures, lifting press censorship and permitting free speech and assembly for the campaign, there has been an unexpected turn of events. A combination of dissension and defections from within her own Congress Party and an unprecedented show of unity from the opposition Janata (People's) Party, pledging a return to democracy and riding the crest of popular outrage at the excesses of emergency rule, has put Gandhi on the defensive.

The Janata Party is a loose coalition of non-communist parties comprising the Jan Singh (a rightist pro-Hindu party), Bharatiya Lok Dal (based in the north, representing primarily rich peasants), the Old Congress (which split from Gandhi's Congress Party in 1969) and the Socialist Party. The chief campaign issue, as stated in rally after campaign rally and in the Janata platform, "is between democracy and dictatorship, between abdicating the power of the people or asserting it."

Perhaps the most severe blow to Gandhi was the resignation in early February of former Food and Agricultural Minister Jagjivan Ram along with five other top officials. Ram was a senior member of Gandhi's cabinet, and one of the few Indian leaders with a national power base aside from Gandhi. Moreover, Ram, a *Harijan* (Untouchable), is the only leader of national stature of India's 100-million Untouchables, the lowest of the Hindu castes, primarily landless and in the most menial jobs.

After Ram's desertion, which many observers viewed as the beginning of a split in the ruling Congress Party, Gandhi was dealt another severe blow in mid-February when her prestigious 76 year old aunt, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit—former Ambassador to the U.S. and USSR—made a stinging criticism of her emergency rule and joined the opposition.

The two main communist groups, the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI) and the more militant, non-aligned Communist Party of India (Marxist)—CPI-M each of which has about two dozen seats in parliament, have taken differing approaches to the elections. Despite a verbal battle in recent weeks, the CPI, in line with Soviet foreign policy, has continued to support the "progressive" sectors of the Congress Party. In some of India's

22 states where the CPI has governed in coalition with the Congress Party, such as Kerala in the south, the alliance has continued.

The CPI-M, however, has consistently condemned Gandhi's Emergency, and has a sizeable base in some states such as Kerala and West Bengal. It has made an "adjustment" with the Janata alliance on the basis of opposing Gandhi's hegemony.

Some 28 other opposition groups, from ultra-right to independents, some representing minority groups such as Naga and Moros (in the northeast where insurgency has persisted), and Maoists loosely grouped as "Naxalites" (after uprisings in Naxalbari province of West Bengal) have all been banned from the ballot.

►From plant a tree to birth control.

All the opposition parties (including the CPI, which originally welcomed it) have joined the growing chorus against the continuing emergency rule, calling for restoring all the ornaments of democracy and rolling back all curbs on civil liberties ushered in by Gandhi since June 1975. The opposition has struck a vital nerve in the electorate.

After being silenced for 20 months, there has been an outpouring of resentment against the coerciveness with which Gandhi had moved to centralize authority and consolidate power. Large and enthusiastic opposition rallies have on occasion drawn upwards of 200,000

One of the focal points and symbols of the climate of the Emergency targeted by the opposition is Gandhi's controversial son, Sanjay.

The 30 year old Sanjay has held no official position other than head of the Youth Congress, which he has used as a base to build into a five-million strong force to launch a "five-point" campaign that ranges from the innocuous and modernistic to the controversial—from "Each one, teach one" (literacy), plant a tree, fight the dowry system, and abolish caste to what has become the more insidious point, birth control. Sanjay is featured on posters and billboards across the country next to his mother amidst charges of dynasty-building. Critics charge that via his "kitchen cabinet," Sanjay has built an extraconstitutional center of power.

His brash tactics of what has amounted to forced sterilization, with overzealous officials rounding up men for vasectomies to meet quotas and other various "incentives and disincentives," have led to riots and dozens of deaths, particularly alienating many of the 70 million Moslems. Similar goon squad tactics have been employed in slum clearance, sometimes rounding up slum-dwellers at gunpoint and herding them into encampments on the outskirts of cities.

Although Gandhi has tried to downplay Sanjay during the elections, phasing down sterilization, and giving out "election bonuses" to workers, he was selected as a candidate in Uttar Pradesh, India's most popular state. This has fueled opposition charges, with Sanjay a visible target, and heightened tensions within the Congress Party amongst Congress veterans who fear being upstaged by Sanjay and the youth wing.

►Stability a theme song.

Gandhi's theme song has been "stability," but she has been on the defensive. She has admitted mistakes for which bur-

eaucrats and politicians were "responsible," and has promised to remedy the excesses. She has asked voters to take a "balanced" view of the emergency, maintaining that curtailed liberties and stern measures were needed to pull the nation together and move forward economically.

Aided by two exceptionally good monsoon seasons producing record crops, Gandhi points to the curbing of inflation, price stability, and ending of "economic chaos." While her crack-down on hoarding and speculation has eased shortages, critics point out that moves to tame inflation began before the emergency. Prices began falling due largely to credit curbs tightening the money supply.

Industrial peace has been the result of stifling labor/management relations by outlawing strikes. At the same time, workers' bonuses were cut, job security statutes suspended (holding jobs hostage) while the government has eased business licensing restrictions, given high income groups tax breaks, and loosened foreign investment laws.

But the credit curb has stifled new investment except among the largest corporations, and a recession has begun to set in. Industrial output has declined, more than 700,000 workers have been laid off, and few new jobs have been created. Inflation has begun to heat up, with prices actually rising 15 percent last year. As almost one-third of the urban workforce is in the public sector, this too could fuel opposition.

►Election campaign backfires.

Critics point out that she has barely begun to implement the nominally socialist 2-point economic program announced with the emergency. While some land reform has occurred, the 700,000 acres redistributed are only .2 percent of India's cultivatable land, and instead of freeing debt-ridden peasants by cancelling debts, she has only declared a moratorium, and

has increased land taxes, with the result that small farmers have been unable to develop their lands.

Moreover, critics point out that in her ten years in power, per capita income, currently at \$120/year, has failed to rise, landless agricultural workers have risen from 15 to 30 percent of the rural work force, and industrial production rose only 3 percent, less than the average in the previous decade.

Analysts have pointed out that the rationale behind Gandhi's call for elections was that she needed a clear mandate to implement further tough measures to put India's economic house in order, and was anxious to dispel foreign critics. With the opposition in disarray, and the Congress Party more firmly entrenched, these observers claim, the time was ripe.

But most agree that whatever the intention, the election campaign has backfired. The Congress Party has never received more than 48 percent of the vote, but it was enough in the past with a feuding opposition. In the last elections (1971), Gandhi rode a wave of popularity with the slogan "gharibi hatao (abolish poverty)," garnering support from the Untouchables and Moslems who comprise more than 20 percent of the vote. Both those groups have been increasingly alienated from Gandhi and the Congress Party. Ultimately, the vote will be decided in the countryside where 75 percent of India's 620 million people live in 600,000 scattered villages.

Gandhi's moves towards a one-party, centralized state appear to be suffering a setback. Most observers expect at best a shaky coalition resulting from a split vote, and Jagjivan Ram predicts more defections from the Congress if the Janata alliance makes a strong show.

Robert A. Manning is a journalist in Berkeley who has travelled in and written about India.





Part I of IV

Photo by UPI

“Jerusalem, Palestine; Acre, Palestine”

By T.D. Allman
Pacific News Service

A decade after recent history's most stunning military victory brought the Holy Land under single rule and gave Israel secure borders, Israel still has not achieved its war aims nor won peace.

Just when the Arab countries seem willing to recognize Israel, its main enemy is no longer a surrounding array of hostile Arab states but a nation of 3.5 million Palestinians created by the very decisiveness of Israeli conquests.

Before the 1967 Six Day War, the Palestinians were already one of the refugee peoples of history—hundreds of thousands having been driven from their home in 1948. But at least some of their homeland then remained intact, and at least some of their people had a stronger interest in holding on to what they had kept than in sabotaging what they had lost.

Today almost all Palestinians, wherever they are, share a sense of dispossession. Israel's victories, so far as the Palestinians are concerned, have fed the flames of nationhood they were supposed to have extinguished.

►A common identity.

The Israeli military occupation has broken down divisions that formerly separated the Palestinians of the refugee camps from the Palestinians in Israel. It has helped to create a new sense of common identity between those remaining within the borders of the former British mandate of Palestine and those who found themselves in exile.

Israel today would like to negotiate only with the Arab states, as though the Palestinians did not exist. Yet it was the defeat of the Arab states in 1967 and 1973 that created the political vacuum on both sides of the cease-fire lines that the Palestinians' political arm, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), has filled.

Israel would like to hand back its captive populations in the West Bank to the rule of Jordan's King Hussein. Yet it was Hussein's inability to defend them in the 1967 war that gave birth to their determination that he should never rule them again.

Israel would like to treat the problem as an Arab/Israeli one, as though Palestinian nationalism were of no importance

at all. Yet it was precisely the Six Day War that more than anything else discredited the Nasserite vision of Arab unity among the Arabs themselves and made the Palestinians see themselves as a people caught between both sides.

While the Arab states and Israel share a perplexity over the Palestinians, the Palestinians go through metamorphoses of their own and a world that has ignored their problem for 30 years hardly knows what they have become.

►Highest literacy rate in Arab world.

The Palestinians today have the highest literacy rate in the Mideast—except for the Israelis—according to data assembled by UNESCO, the Red Cross, the UN World Relief Agency and other international bodies. They also have the highest proportion of children in school, the highest proportion of university students and the greatest ratio of skilled laborers to total work force of any Arabic-speaking people.

Like the Israelis, the Palestinians have become a nation of apartment dwellers; together they are the two more urbanized peoples of the Mideast. Next to the Jews, the Palestinians are also the most socially mobile, the most geographically dispersed and the least traditional people involved in the entire Arab/Israeli conflict.

Despite being divided for 30 years by the lines of military confrontation, the Palestinians have become an increasingly homogenous nation.

Even the stereotype of the Palestinians as a people of refugee camps is no longer valid. Of the more than two million Palestinians living outside Israeli-controlled territory, only 448,278—about a fifth—actually inhabit refugee camps. And the vast majority of those are women, children, many of whom are refugees not from 1948 but from the 1967 Six Day War.

Thus the real problem for the Palestinians is that in spite of the declining role of the camps, in spite of their rising incomes—which now often exceed the peoples among whom they have settled—they

remain a people who the more they wander the more they dream of returning home; the more cosmopolitan they become the more they want some small corner of the earth to call their own.

►A nation of itinerant schoolteachers.

This former population of sedentary peasants has become a nation of itinerant schoolteachers; this supposed cabal of saboteurs now is the principal source of skilled labor and trained management for the non-communist world's most important oil reserves.

Nearly a quarter-million Palestinians work in Kuwait; the oil would stop flowing to the factories of Japan and West Germany without them. The Palestinians are also the single most numerous group of technicians and teachers in Saudi Arabia, the small Gulf states and Libya.

The result is that, deprived of their own land, the Palestinians have become an increasingly powerful force in other lands. Denied nationhood, they play a greater international role than many fully sovereign countries.

Today Palestinians comprise two-thirds of the population of Jordan, half the populations of Israeli-controlled lands, a third of the population of Kuwait and about 12 percent of the population of Lebanon.

They are a key ingredient of not only the Arab/Israeli conflict, but the confrontation between the industrialized and Third Worlds and the relationship of the superpowers. And whatever happens in the near future, this is quite unlikely to change.

Even if they get their mini-state, the Palestinians are likely to remain a nation whose population and influence continues to lie largely outside its borders.

“Faced with expulsion and exile,” observed Prof. Nabeel Shaath of the American University of Beirut, the Palestinians turned to “education as a means to national self-preservation.” Encountering the Arabs' own hostility to the strangers in their midst, the Palestinians “had to

study hard to enhance his personal competitive power and to overcome the disadvantage emanating from his “refugee status” as well.”

►A world force.

If both the social origins and human consequences of the Palestinians' dispossession resemble those that nurtured Zionism, so—though neither side admits it—the political results have also run increasingly parallel.

Just as the Zionist movement derived its initial strength not from the Oriental Jews living under Moslem rule but from Jews living in Europe, so the ferment that produced the PLO began not inside Israel or the camps but among a Palestinian elite scattered across the world. Yasser Arafat started not as a scarred revolutionary but as an engineer in Kuwait.

The consequences have also been similar.

Like the International Zionist Organization before it, the PLO today is an umbrella movement sheltering radicals and reactionaries, terrorists and the victims of terrorism—not by what they have in common—but in what they lack.

Some time ago in Amman, a wealthy Palestinian lawyer showed a visitor around his lavish house. “This is not my home,” he said. “My sons ask me when we will go home and I remind them of the parable of Moses. If it does not come in my lifetime, it will come in theirs.”

Under their graduation photographs in Arab school yearbooks, Palestinian students do not say where they live. Instead they list as forwarding addresses cities they have never seen: “Jerusalem, Palestine; Acre, Palestine; Jaffa, Palestine.”

As their historical quarrel grows deeper, the paradox grows of one people reenacting the fate of the other.

Haunted by the concentration camps of Europe, the Jews have become the masters of Gaza, Smaria and Judea.

Resisting the Judaization of their land, the Palestinians have become the new people of the Diaspora.

T.D. Allman, a member of St. Antony's College in Oxford, England, recently completed a research fellowship at the Council on Foreign Relations. He has written on the Middle East and Indochina since the early 1970s for such publications as *The New York Times*, *Manchester Guardian* and *Le Monde diplomatique*.

FRANCE

Left and right vie for French votes

By Bernard H. Moss

Paris. The French municipal elections of March 13 and 20 will test the progress of the united left on the way to legislative victory in 1978. They will also test the degree of popular resistance to the austerity plan that Giscard d'Estaing and his new Prime Minister Raymond Barre imposed last September. For the right, they will measure the popularity of its two main components, Gaullists and Giscardians, who are running rival mayoral candidates in the much overblown "battle for Paris." Early polls indicate that the left will be strengthened by the test.

French municipal elections have always had national political importance, in spite of the actual power of French local officials. The system of centralized administration severely circumscribes the powers of local mayors and town councils. Reflecting these limitations, French mayors usually hold a plurality of local offices, including that of national deputy.

The actual accomplishments of municipal socialists are rather minor. Communist and Socialist mayors use their offices for the benefit of public housing, recreational and cultural facilities and social services, but they dispose of meager tax revenues. Perhaps the greatest service they perform is to offer their solidarity to local struggles. The sight of Communist mayors wrapped in their tricolor sashes joining striking workers and demonstrations is a commonplace.

But this year more than ever the elections have national significance because of the bi-polarization of municipal politics between a united left and the right. For the first time Communists and Socialists are running joint lists of candidates on the first of two rounds. By altering the electoral system and barring consolidated lists on the second round of the election, the government had hoped to divide the partners. They responded with an agreement to negotiate joint lists, based on past electoral returns, in all large cities.

► Battle of Paris splits right

The decision to form joint lists was difficult for the Socialists, who in many cases had been governing in alliance with centrists and whose popularity in the polls far exceeds that of the Communists. But the desire for unity was so strong among party members that the leadership agreed on joint lists for many smaller cities as well.

Negotiations were long and hard, and not everywhere successful. The Socialists wanted to use as a reference the opinion polls, which show them with 30 percent of the vote to the Communists' 22 percent. They proposed to head the lists even in Communist sectors. The Communists, who insist that the alliance must benefit both parties, stuck doggedly to the terms of the original accord. In several major cities, including Marseilles, where Socialist anti-Communism dies hard, the Socialists refused joint lists, but promised reciprocal support on the second round. With joint lists negotiated in over 200 of 221 large cities, the Communists stand to triple their municipal representation.

Contrary to the impression conveyed by the official media and right-wing press, the left faces a single enemy. Almost everywhere outside of Paris, the right is united. Giscard d'Estaing has incorporated all factions of the right and the center into his governing majority; in the face of a united left he has no more political reserves. The only way he can avoid condemnation for the failures of his regime is to present the electorate with a seeming diversity of conservative faces—what he calls "organized pluralism."

In the "battle for Paris," however, the competition between Jacques Chirac, head of the Gaullists, and Michel d'Ornano, the Giscardian, because of its vehemence, risks compromising the chances of the majority in the arch-bourgeois cap-

This week's municipal elections will test the left's strength and measure the degree of popular resistance to Giscard d'Estaing's austerity plan.

ital. The mutual recriminations being exchanged by the parties of the majority, a sign of their confusion and disarray before the advance of the left, may cause voter defections. Independent candidates running on an ecology platform are also expected to get as high as 10 percent of the vote.

► Grave economic illness.

The great hope of French capitalism now rests on the hefty shoulders of Raymond Barre, chosen last fall to impose austerity on the nation. The French economy has never really recovered from the quadrupling of oil prices in 1974 and the world recession of 1975. The crisis exposed the weaknesses of entire sectors of French industry—printing, textiles, machine tools, etc.—which are presently being restructured to suit the imperatives of international competition—in other words, the multinationals. The result has been the liquidation of large productive sectors, factory closings, massive lay-offs, a worsening trade deficit—the French must import what they no longer produce—and persistent inflation.

Barre, a solid liberal economist who has served many conservative administrations, presented himself as a non-partisan technician who would save France from a grave illness. The stern and unyielding doctor prescribed the standard medicine. His austerity plan combines price controls with higher taxes on wage earners and consumers and a wage freeze.

To the protests of trade unions, which demanded the respect of wage agreements, he turned a deaf ear. His paternalistic and authoritarian manner in the traditional French father image seemed—if certain polls are to be believed—to please the public. Through a judicious timing of a decrease in the value-added tax and juggling of statistics, he could announce before the elections a great victory in the fight against inflation—a .3 percent rise in January, a figure contested by the left and most experts.

From the beginning the Communists set out to defeat the Barre Plan. Politically, its success would interrupt the momentum of the left. Economically, its success would mean greater unemployment, reduced purchasing power and a demobilization of the working class. Millions of workers joined the October 7 strike called by the left trade unions to protest the Barre Plan, followed in January by public employee strikes. In the face of government and employer intransigence, however, strike action has been localized in the industrial sector as workers await a left victory at the polls before they renew their action.

► Communists going all-out.

Outside of the trade unions, which seem to have reached an impasse, the Communists have accelerated their own independent mass action. Having effectively isolated the extreme left, Maoists and Trotskyists, they are no longer afraid of radical mass struggles. Communist cells frequently led occupations of factories threatened with lay-offs and closures and have encouraged spreading resistance to tax collectors and foreclosures. In February, the party conducted a national campaign among the population, collecting the personal testimonies of those in distress, to expose the extent of poverty in the land. It is going all-out—to the point of circulating sign-up sheets in factories—to gain raw recruits, which are running ahead of last years' 100,000.

The contrast between the activist Communists and the more electoralist Socialists is striking. Since 1974, the year of the presidential campaign, membership in the Socialist Party has leveled off at

about 155,000. The recruitment of 15,000 trade unionists from the left Christian CFDT (Democratic Federation of French Workers), contrary to expectations, has not altered the electoralist weight of the party. The entry of Michel Rocard, former leader of the ultra-left PSU (Unified Socialist Party) has on the contrary strengthened the hand of the technocratic politicians in the party. The slogan of "autogestion"—worker self-management—has always hidden certain technocratic elements in the PSU and CFDT that are more concerned about managerial reform than about capitalist expropriation.

In recent weeks, the Socialists have taken initiatives to reassure the middle class. In his recent visit to Washington Rocard apparently stressed the technical character of the nationalizations inscribed in the Common Program. Gaston Deferre, mayor of Marseilles, has written of a transition to socialism that will take 25 years. Francois Mitterand speaks of the number of nationalizations in the program as the grand maximum. At their recent colloquium on industrial policy, the Socialists emphasized the importance of gaining the confidence of non-monopoly capital, which will have to provide the bulk of new jobs under the new regime. Aside from some marginal experiments with workers' cooperatives, the Socialists have relegated "autogestion" to the distant future.

► Distrust of Socialists.

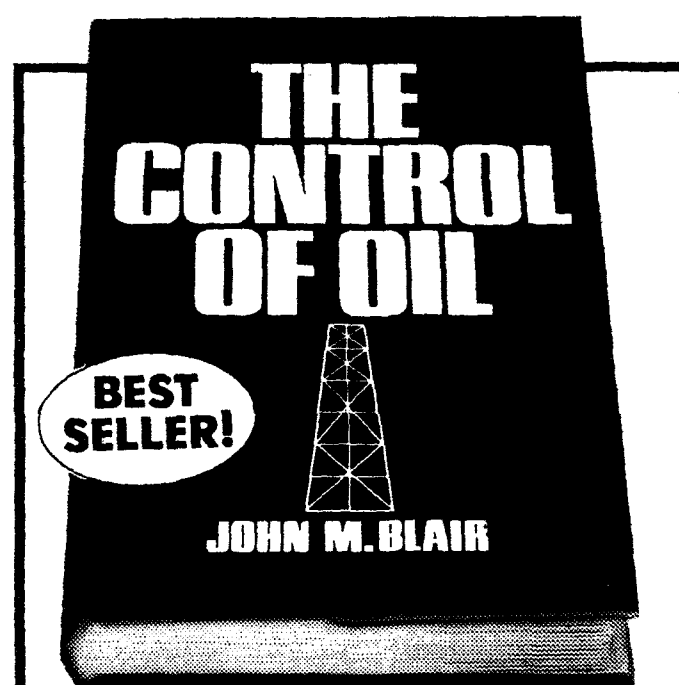
In the context of the conflictual alliance, which is the most interesting dimension of the French left, the Communists con-

tinue to treat their partners as reformists. The distrust of the Socialists among Communist militants, especially the old-timers, is fierce. The party leadership does nothing to improve the climate with its constant admonishment and criticism of Socialist leaders, particularly Rocard. The campaign of denigration of the Socialists, often compounded of distortions and half-truths, contains an element of party patriotism. The Communists are disturbed that their neophyte partners have reaped the electoral rewards of their mass struggles. More seriously, they fear that a hegemonic electoralist Socialist Party will seek an accommodation with capitalism in the manner of Portuguese Socialist Mario Soares.

Such a fear, however, is unreasonable. There is practically nobody left in the Socialist Party who is not a solid supporter of the Communist alliance and the Common Program; the cold warriors have either resigned or been expelled. And if the repeated declarations of fidelity and personal integrity of Socialist leaders were not enough, objective conditions presently exclude a reversal of alliances.

Considering the narrow margins of maneuver for French capitalism today, the right could never offer the minimum concessions that even the most reformist Socialists would demand. And those politicians who turncoated would face the united opposition of their party and all the major trade unions, which would render a reformist solution untenable. The Socialists may be accused of harboring politicians with reformist, technocratic or electoralist tendencies, but they cannot be suspected of class collaboration and betrayal.

Bernard Moss lives in Paris and is writing a book on the French left. He is author of *The Origins of the French Labor Movement*. He recently published a four-part series on the French left in *In These Times* (No. 10-13).



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PANTHEON



Two-time Oscar winner, Ring Lardner Jr., looks inside the Oscars.

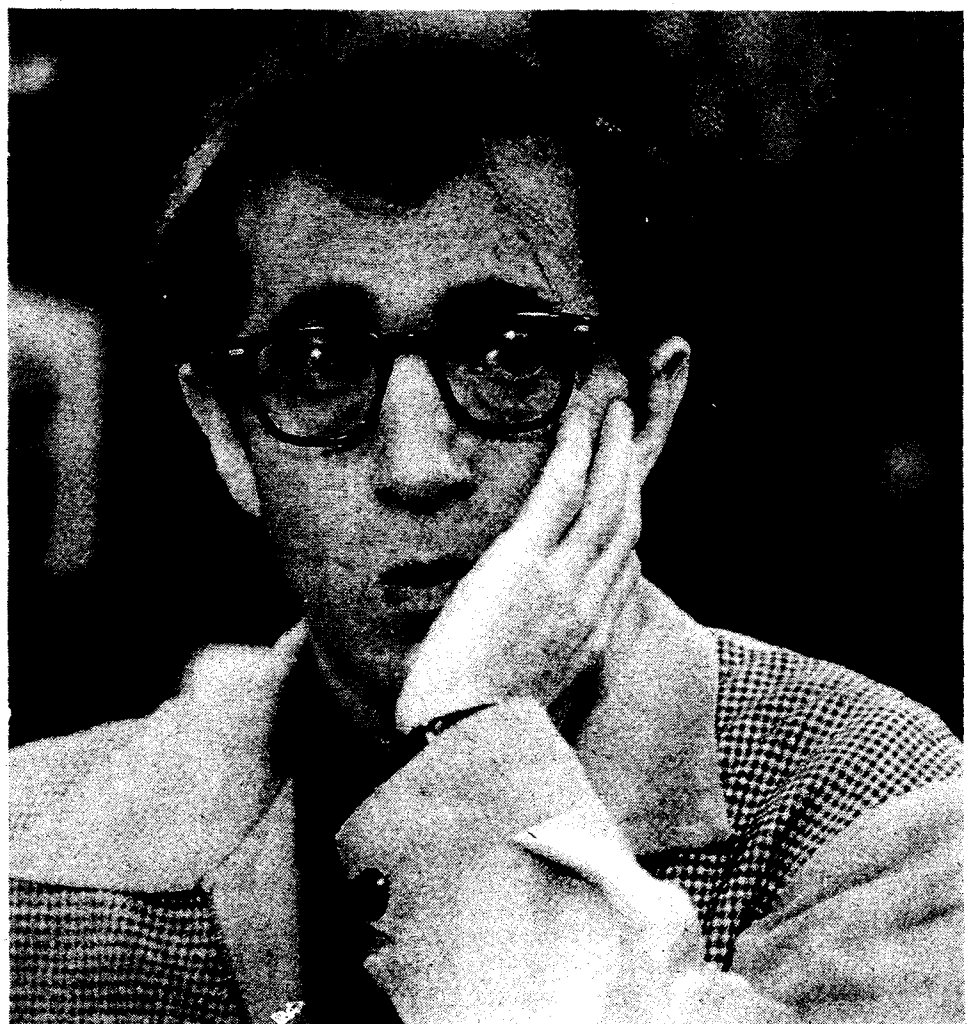
To get a proper perspective on the Academy awards, you need to know a little about the institution that bestows them and how the voting works.

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences is roughly as old as talking pictures. It is, to use its own official description, "a professional honorary organization composed of more than 3,900 motion picture craftsmen and artists (work)? Might Giancarlo Giannini triumph members, which is less than 10 percent of the membership of the Writers Guild of America, West, but more than half of

those who are or have been directly involved in the creation of feature length theatrical motion pictures.

Membership is by invitation, the separate branches having virtual autonomy. One sure way to qualify is to be nominated for an Oscar, but any reasonable evidence of accomplishment will do. By and large the membership consists of people who have a secure place in the Hollywood establishment. Ten of the 12 branches represent fields in which annual awards are made: actors, art directors, cinematographers, directors, film editors, music,

Director Hal Ashby and actor David Carradine in *Bound for Glory*



Woody Allen in *The Front*

producers, short films, sound, and writers. (The two other branches are executives and public relations. Costume designers, an award category, are a subdivision of art directors.) There are a small number of men and women who don't fit into any branches who are members-at-large. Most of the personnel of film crews and the people who work in studio offices and on the "back lots" are not represented in the Academy.

In January of each year reminder lists of all pictures released during the previous 12 months are distributed to the membership. Every member lists his selections (in order of preference) for the best picture of the year. All other nominations are made on separate branch ballots by members of that branch. Writers make selections in two categories: best screenplay written directly for the screen, and best screenplay based on material from another medium.

The music and short film categories have three separate awards apiece; all the others only one. Documentary films, a field unrepresented in the Academy or the Hollywood establishment, require a special procedure. Producers submit their films to a special Academy committee, which makes the nominations. Special screenings are arranged for the nominated films in all categories, but the documentary vote is limited to members who have seen all the candidate films.

►Award worth millions at box office.

An Oscar probably doesn't bestow any great economic benefit on the individual winner, but the best picture award is worth several million dollars to the producer and distributor. The awards (even the nominations) for acting and directing can also have tangible results, sometimes reviving a release that is already out of circulation. Even such esoteric awards as those for best achievements in sound and film editing contribute to a cumulative claim (e.g. "Six Academy Nominations" or "Three Academy Awards") that replaces all previous advertising slogans.

So the annual show is more than just a rite of spring to the film companies.

Up till about 20 years ago, when the major studios functioned as factories with large permanent payrolls, pressure of various kinds was frequently applied to persuade employees to vote for a particular picture. Thousands of dollars were spent

on advertising campaigns directed at the electorate.

Nowadays there is nothing on that scale, but voters are still propagandized in a number of ways. Although the Academy frowns upon any form of direct solicitation, you still see thinly veiled ads in the trade papers, inserted by an agent promoting the candidacy of a client. The bulletin of the Writers Guild, which ordinarily runs small ads for stenographic and copying services, suddenly blossoms forth with full page messages from the studios about the screenplay contenders. And I assume the same sort of thing happens in the publications of other guilds and unions.

Members who live in New York and can't attend the screenings in the Academy's Beverly Hills theater are invited to special showings of nominated films in the projection rooms of the producing companies, or offered free admission (in voting season only) to theaters where they are playing commercially. Voters on both coasts receive handsomely printed compendiums of the most favorable reviews and free phonograph records of the nominees for best musical score or best original song.

Such services are provided more or less equally by all competitors and tend to cancel each other out. More important to the final results are the characteristics, tastes and preconceptions of Academy members.

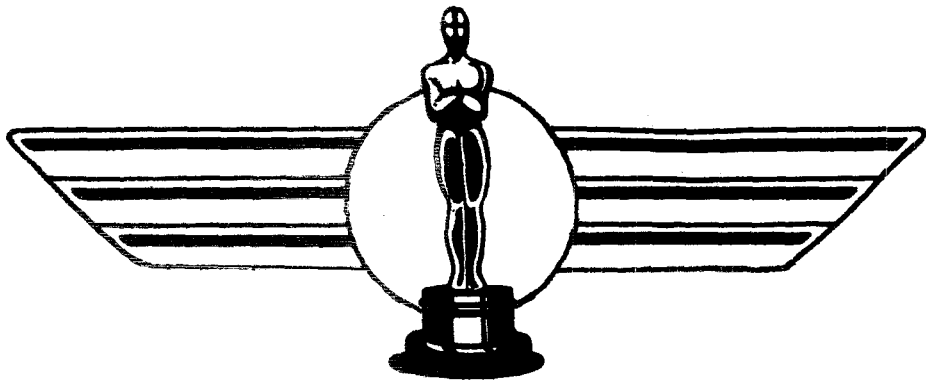
►An American bias.

To begin with, we are an American organization, created as an adjunct to the American film industry. You won't see us come up with any xenophobic nonsense like the New York Critics Circle, which in 1975 gave best picture, best direction, best screenplay, best actress and best supporting actor awards to *Amarcord*, Fellini, Bergman, Ullman and Boyer, respectively. Film may be an international art, and foreign language pictures may be nominated for all categories of Academy awards. But win a major Oscar? Never; not once in 48 years!

Partly to protect itself from any such setback to its purposes and yet avoid the appearance of absolute insularity, the Academy set up a separate award for the best foreign-language film, with a complicated nominating procedure (by nations, one nominee each) and final voting by a special committee instead of the

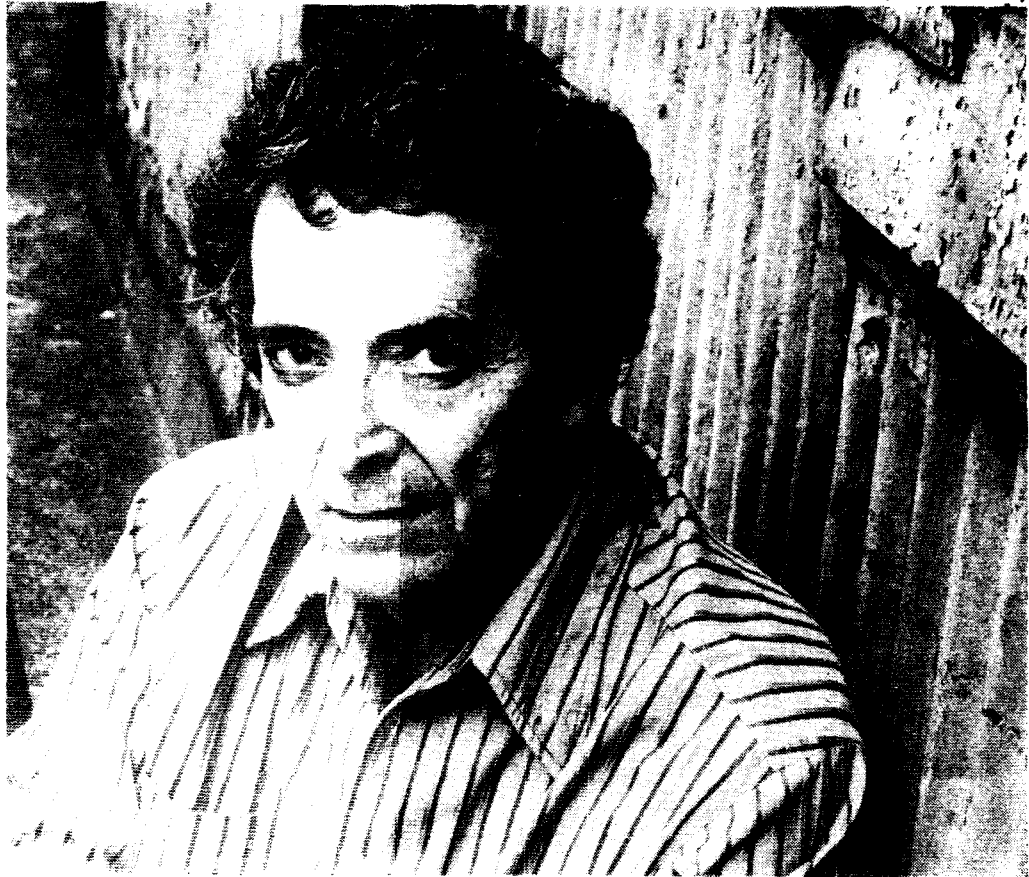


Giancarlo Giannini in *Seven Beauties*



Ring Lardner Jr.

Photo by Maureen Lambray



Academy membership. Foreign pictures are eligible in all categories except best picture. But to confuse the voters further, a foreign film not submitted by its government or other appropriate national organization can be nominated for the best picture award.

Where all this leads is to the selection as the best foreign-language film of 1975, not of some widely circulated and acclaimed picture like *The Story of Adele H.*, but of *Derzu Uzala*, which—as far as I noticed—had no American distribution at all.

It is conceivable that this year's televised

ceremony on March 28 will break the solid streak of American awards to American pictures. Could Luv Ullman be declared a finer actress than Faye Dunaway (in *Network*)? Migh Giancarlo Gianinni triumph over Sylvester Stallone? What about the chances of Ingmar Bergman or even Lina Wertmuller being hailed as a greater director than Alan J. Paluka or John G. Avildsen?

►Economic interest involved.

My advice is don't bet on any of them. If you want a tip on how Hollywood will ac-

knowledge the existence of European filmmaking, put your money on Danila Conati to win best achievement in costume design with *Fellini's Casanova*. (Signor Fellini can content himself with being the only director in the world whose name is an integral part of the title.)

Arrant nationalism this may be, but it reflects the strong economic interest Academy voters have in the Hollywood system as it exists. We do not look fondly on experimental films or any serious departure from the commercial groove. When in doubt we vote for *The Sound of Music* or *The French Connection*. We have never chosen anything but a solid money-maker for best picture. It is rare (exceptions being Maggie Smith in *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, 1969, and Jack Lemmon in *Save the Tiger*, 1973) that we acknowledge that a prize-winning performance can occur in a movie that isn't a box-office smash. More often than not, our choices are indistinguishable from those of the general public, as voted by their paid admission.

There are a couple of minor deviations from this rule. We are occasionally given to sentiment, especially in the acting awards, choosing to compensate some well-liked star for a run of bad luck by giving her or him and award that isn't really for the current performance for the purpose of redressing a grievance.

Just lately a new economic trend in the business has brought the first faint hint of class struggle into the nominating and voting process. As salaried workers with a high rate of unemployment in an unstable industry, we do not like the trend toward fewer, more expensive movies. When a company puts all its capital into one supercolossal, blockbusting basket, there are fewer jobs to be had. A larger number of modestly budgeted films would spread the work much more satisfactorily among a larger number of us.

So the "little" picture (especially the little picture that competes at the box office with *King Kong* and *A Star Is Born*) is something we will encourage with our votes. I believe that is why *Rocky*, and to a lesser extent *Network*, have dominated the nominations for 1976.

►Concentrated nominations.

One perennial feature of the voting, repeated again this year, is that the nominations in all categories are concentrated among a relatively small number of pictures. What this proves, I think, is that the people in the business are no smarter than the fans at distinguishing one kind of contribution to a film from another.

We never honor a performer for his or her valiant effort with a terrible screenplay, or a director for doing a brilliant job with an incompetent star. *Network*, *Rocky*, and *All the President's Men* are nominated this year for the best picture, best direction and best screenplay. They are also three of the candidates for best film editing, and they have 11 acting nominations among them. Granted that all the participating talents have to function on a high level to make a good movie, it's also true that the better a movie is, the more immersed you are in it and less able to separate the writing from the acting, the editing from the direction.

Left: The late Peter Finch in *Network*. Below: Dustin Hoffman and Laurence Olivier in *Marathon Man*.



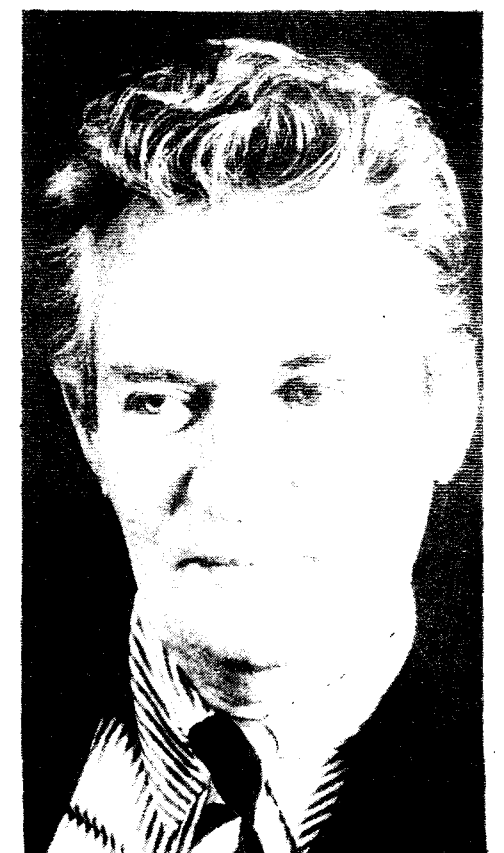
The fearless forecasts

There is no such thing as inside information on who will get the Oscars this year, but I can apply the observations I have made here about how the process works and come up with a few guesses that are guaranteed to be no less accurate than you can achieve in your own home with a hat and some scraps of paper. My fearless forecast, therefore, for the results on 1976 is:

- Best picture — *All The President's Men*
- Best director — Sidney Lumet for *Network*
- Best actor in a leading role — Peter Finch in *Network*
- Best actress in a leading role — Faye Dunaway in *Network*
- Best actor in a supporting role — Laurence Olivier in *Marathan Man*
- Best actress in a supporting role — Beatrice Straight in *Network*
- Best achievement in cinematography — Haskell Wexler for *Bound for Glory*
- Best screenplay written directly for the screen — Paddy Chayefsky for *Network*
- Best screenplay based on another medium — William Goldman for *All the President's Men*

Those are my predictions of the winners to be announced on Monday night, March 28. They are not, except in a couple of instances, the choices I made among the films nominated. To show complete fearlessness, I suppose, I have to violate the secrecy of my own ballot and allow the reader to draw what inferences he can about my own special, strong, built-in prejudices;

- Best picture—*Bound for Glory*
- Best director — Lina Wertmuller for *Seven Beauties*
- Best actor in a leading role — Giancarlo Gianinni in *Seven Beauties*
- Best actress in a leading role — Liv Ullmann in *Face to Face*
- Best actor in a supporting role — Burgess Meredith in *Rocky*
- Best actress in a supporting role — Beatrice Straight in *Network*
- Best achievement in cinematography—Haskell Wexler for *Bound for Glory*
- Best screenplay written directly for the screen—Walter Bernstein for *The Front*
- Best screenplay based on another medium — Robert Getchell for *Bound for Glory*



Lardner on how the Academy was driven to ending the blacklist

Ring Lardner Jr. is one of very few screen writers who have won the Oscar twice. In Lardner's case once (for *Woman of the Year*, 1942) before, and once (for *M*A*S*H**, 1970) after he spent a year—minus time for good behavior—in jail for contempt of Congress.

As one of the Hollywood Ten, Lardner resisted the incursion of the House Un-American Activities Committee into the film industry in the '50s. His observations on the workings of the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences include this passage, which reflects his experience with the blacklist:

"One of this year's nominees in the feature-length documentary division is *Hollywood on Trial*, described in the official list of nominations for 1976 as a "reconstruction, through newsreel footage and recent interviews, of the American (sic) Activities Committee hearings and consequent blacklist in the film industry."

The strange mistake in the name of the committee, later corrected, may have some unconscious significance when you recall the active part the Academy played in maintaining the blacklist.

During the early history of that peculiar institution, two awards went to blacklisted writers for films they had written before proscription. That was embarrassing enough, but when *The Friendly Persuasion* was nominated for best screenplay five long years after its screen adapter, Michael Wilson, had been banished from filmdom, the Board of Governors hastily passed a special rule declaring non-cooperators with the committee ineligible for awards. The voters had to choose among four instead of five candidates that spring.

In the next three years, however, there were so many pictures up for awards that had been written by blacklisted writers under pseudonyms, and these facts were so much a matter of Hollywood gossip, that a publicity campaign (brilliantly orchestrated by Dalton Trumbo) threatened to ridicule the Academy right out of existence. Another hasty meeting of the Governors in January, 1959, rescinded the 1956 rule, and that was as close as any group representing Hollywood officialdom ever came to formally ending the blacklist."

Last week we commented on President Carter's greater concern for human rights in the Soviet Union than in those countries more directly subject to American influence. This week, in Geneva, Brady Tyson, a member of the American delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission, expressed his "profoundest regrets" for the part played by American officials and private groups in overthrowing the elected government of the late President Salvador Allende Gossens. The State Department, and then Carter himself, repudiated Tyson's statement and rebuked him for making it.

There is no direct evidence, both the State Department and the President said, "of direct U.S. involvement in the coup of 1973." It has only been proven, according to a special Senate committee headed by Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), that the U.S. "sought in 1970 to foment a military coup in Chile " to prevent Allende from taking office, and that the Nixon administration had authorized the CIA to spend \$8 million between 1970 and 1973 to make it difficult for Allende to govern. There is no evidence whatsoever that American troops actually shot Allende.

Tyson's statement, and his instant repudiation are reminiscent of the early days of John F. Kennedy's administration. Carter, like Kennedy, was elected largely on the basis of rhetoric about renewing the people's faith in this nation and in corporate capitalism. Like Kennedy, Carter's lip-service to human rights and the humanistic side of the American tradition has brought a number of idealistic liberals—liberals of conscience—along with the more sophisticated corporate planners and managers into his administration. Early in his administration, Kennedy made some feeble attempts to clean up some of the more blatantly oppressive South American regimes. These were short-lived when the revolutionary implications became apparent, and people like Chester Bowles, who took the rhetoric too seriously, had to go.

Now, apparently, it is Tyson's turn. He has been recalled, so that he can be drilled by the more "realistic" officials of the State Department on how to behave in public. To the degree that Tyson and others live up to their own personal principles and commitments, they will come increasingly into conflict with higher administration officials, including the President. Our guess is that they won't last long, or that they will accommodate themselves to the "realities" of the corporate order. ■



The increasing incompatibility of the profit system with the social needs of the people has nowhere been more forcefully demonstrated than in the recent industry squeeze on natural gas users—a large proportion of urban home-owners and tenants.

Like the gasoline and oil shortage of 1973-74, this year's natural gas shortage was a highly successful attempt at extortion of the public by a handful of corporations that control our natural resources—much of it on or beneath land that is still publicly owned.

The evidence of this is overwhelming, but has been treated both by the press and by the administration as a matter for further investigation and proof. Meanwhile, President Carter, and many members of Congress, have been using the "emergency" as a means of making concessions to the oil companies that are intentionally withholding gas from the market.

As conservative a source as Sen. How-

ard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), in a letter to Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus, amply documents the refusal of the oil companies to develop their wells. One example is a Government Accounting Office study, made in 1975, showing that 91 percent of the oil and gas leases let by the Interior Department were not in production.

Another is the example of Gulf Oil Corporation's failure to comply with a 20-year lease, entered into in 1963, to deliver between 500 million cubic feet and 625 million cubic feet of gas a day to Texas Eastern pipeline. During hearings before the Federal Power Commission in 1976, Gulf repeatedly testified that delivery at the contractual amount was "physically impossible" because there were allegedly no available reserves. But when ordered by the FPC to start delivering the maximum of 625 million cubic feet a day, the company was doing so within a month.

In addition, according to the FPC, Texaco holds rights to a proven reserve of over one-half trillion cubic feet of gas in the

Gulf of Mexico that could be brought into production within two months, but did not attempt to tap these sources during the fuel shortage. The FPC has determined that Texaco could make a 15 percent profit on this gas at a price of only 25¢ per thousand cubic feet and that Texaco's failure to produce these reservoirs is "directly attributable to its desire to maximize profits."

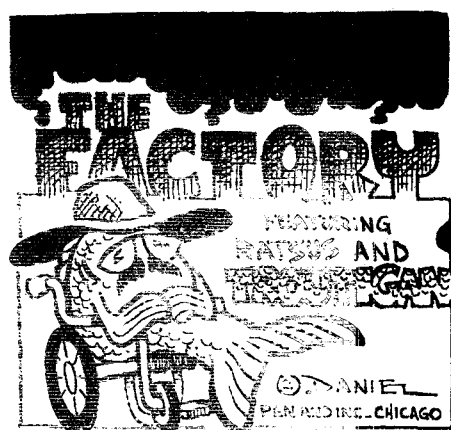
And so it goes.

Yet President Carter's emergency bill will let interstate pipelines take delivery through July 31 of extra gas for which they may pay more than the Federal Power Commission's ceiling price of \$1.44 a thousand cubic feet. The rationale behind this is not that a higher price than \$1.44 is needed in order for the gas suppliers to make a profit, but simply that since gas is not regulated if sold within the state in which it is produced, higher prices are needed for interstate gas, or the companies will hold on to it for intrastate sales.

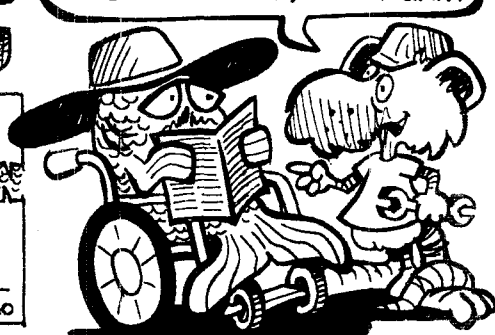
The needs of the public to use the natur-

al resources of our own nation are thus given second place to the desire of the oil monopolies to make further billions of dollars in profits. Our "populist" President, and a majority of Congress, defend this as only natural. As Carter said in his news conference of Feb. 23, he believes the American people "will be willing to make the sacrifices required," if they are convinced that supplies will not be withheld from the market.

But why should the American people believe it? And why should the people be called upon to make sacrifices when it is their gas that is being withheld and for which they are being outrageously overcharged? No one has asked the gas companies to make sacrifices. To do so would be to go against the assumption of the profit system. But it would seem both logical and just for the companies, whose antisocial behavior has been amply demonstrated, to be stripped of our property and to have the public own and develop natural gas according to social need. ■



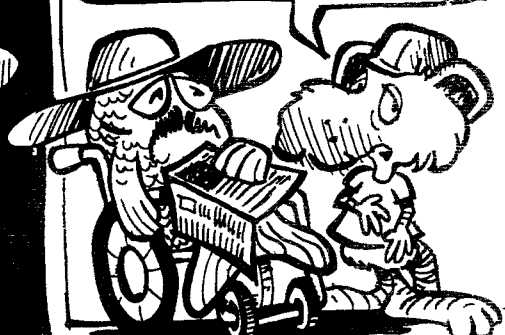
WOULD YOU SAY YOU WERE MY BEST FRIEND, TROUTIGAN?



NO, RATSUS, YOU ARE YOUR OWN BEST FRIEND.



WHAT A HORRIBLE THOUGHT!



Letters

There's more of us than you realize.

Editor:

Your newspaper has many good articles on what direction the "people" should take. The one problem I see is lack of help for grass-roots organization. If you printed ways for us peons to get in touch with national committees it would help generate the flow of ideas and information.

I'm not currently able to go into specifics as I'm owned by the U.S. Army. Excuse the spelling—I'm from a WASP school system and unfortunately rejected formal learning along with the indoctrination. If you happen to print this letter please withhold my name.

By the way, there's more of us than you realize. I talk to everyone I meet about the shit we have and organizing for a more rational government. Almost all agree in part, or theory at least. Fear of paybacks by the ruling class stifles the actual organization.

—X
Junction City, Kan.

Is DSOC really socialist?

Editor:

John Judis' portrayal (ITT, March 2) of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) was somewhat too optimistic. Emphasized in his commentary on DSOC's recent convention was their commitment to democratic socialism: not social democracy. We believe there is much ambiguity in DSOC's socialist politics. On the one hand it sees socialism as more than planned welfare capitalism, but on the other hand it promotes a decidedly reformist-oriented program—what Michael Harrington calls "the leftwing of possibility." DSOC pushes for programs that fit within the spectrum of liberal Democratic politics, or again in Harrington's words, "not, strictly speaking, socialist programs, but good, radical, liberal programs." As well, DSOC devotes considerable energies to supporting liberals in the Democratic party, e.g. Morris Udall.

Needless to say, any responsible socialist group must work for short-term reforms while raising the radical consciousness of its constituency but DSOC publicly presents only its "minimalist" face. Sadly lacking is a projection of the "good society." This is not to deny the historical importance of DSOC. If nothing else it is helping to give "socialism" a good name and its commitment to democracy must not be underestimated as a political value and principle. Furthermore there is also a reasonable possibility that in time DSOC will develop a closer integration of its ideology and politics. Their present limitations and the constraints under which they operate inside the Democratic party must not however be overlooked.

—Sharon Rosenblum
—Germen Sicianni
Johnson City, N.Y.

Masturbation can be very fun.

Editor:

We strongly disagree with Barbara Ehrenreich's article "Female sexuality reaches new Hites—Masturbation is the new thing (ITT, Feb. 23). The gist of Ehrenreich's article is—masturbation is ok in its place, but sex (presumably heterosexual) between people is the real thing. This is the same sort of bullshit that women have been fed all our lives.

There shouldn't be a competition between different forms of sexual activity. Masturbation can be very fun, interesting and exciting. For some similar and very different reasons, so can sexual activity between people. The so-called "nuances of power" that Ehrenreich finds so adventurous in sex, are exactly what many women would like to see ended. "Nuances of power" are often nuances of oppression within heterosexual relationships.

To Ehrenreich, the advantages of masturbation are all negative (and heterosexually biased)—no VD, no pregnancy, don't have to find a partner, etc. Ehrenreich sees masturbation as something you do only to avoid something else. Thus, she reinforces the negative feelings most people have about masturbation. Contrary to what Ehrenreich implies, most women still feel bad about masturbation. We are trained, through the predominance of attitudes such as Ehrenreich's, to feel masturbation is somehow wrong, lonely activity—to do only when a sex partner is unavailable. People should be given full support for exploring and enjoying different forms of sexual activity.

The derisive tone of the article could only serve to make people who enjoy masturbation (as an end in itself) feel bad about themselves. It angered us to find it within your newspaper.

—Robin McDuff
—Ziesel Saunders
Santa Cruz, Calif.

He considers us 'liberal'

Editor:

I want to congratulate the paper on the very professional quality of reporting, discussing and examining issues.

Your masthead proclaims you as socialist, but from reading the paper one would consider you liberal, and would never guess the paper to be socialist. In articles discussing plans and issues your writers give opinions of many sides and tendencies, but never a socialist opinion. Do socialists have no opinions, or are you not socialist? In the very first issue, Allan Wolfe, in "Which way Carter," cites opinions of the right, liberals, labor, blacks, but not a socialist.

One other: In number 6, Louis Menashe writes about "Brezhnev balancing act..." This is a positioning subject for a socialist paper. Mr. Menashe discusses Brezhnev as one would a Churchill, Truman or Ford in any country, but not as a leader of a country that claims to be building socialism. Is the Soviet Union an experiment in the building of socialism? Is it just another country with a capitalist economy? If we accept that it is trying to build socialism, what is wrong in its methods and what is lacking?

Socialists in the US are grievously splintered and guilty of evading their duty to confront the capitalist system. Many socialist groups seem to try to squeeze the American situation into the

mold of other nation's socialist experience. Their quarrels, polemics and infighting do not stem from differences in consideration of American reality, but from trying to position it into past foreign experiences. Should not ITT, as a socialist paper, devote a little space to the polemics of existing (if only in name) socialist organizations? As a paper in search of a socialist movement it should express not only opinions of socialist organizations, even argue about and with them, but mention and give space to the doings of socialist organizational attempts.

Are your readers guilty of political vacuity or mental laziness, or are you withholding letters for lack of space or critical disagreement. You should encourage readers to send in opinions and even polemics and disagreements.

—Leon Blum
Plantation, Fla.

Editor's note: We welcome critical letters. In fact, we love them and hope readers will send more.

Be careful about crying 'Wolf'

Editor:

I was in the German Democratic Republic during the Biermann ruckus and would like to point out factual inaccuracies and omissions in Rabinbach's article "When Germany cried Wolf" (ITT, March 2).

First, the "outpouring of protest" against Biermann's expulsion from the GDR must be measured against the outpouring of support for the act shown by intellectuals and their organizations: see the letters to *Neues Deutschland* of 22 November 1976 from Anna Seghers, the president of the Authors Union of the GDR, Wolfgang Heinz, the president of the Association of Theater Producers, and Konrad Wolf, president of the Academy of Arts.

Second, the "outpouring of protest" must be measured against the outpouring of worker support of the government's act, the volume of which was completely unexpected by the ruling party. See, e.g., the letter from a woman streetcar conductor, in the same issue of *Neues Deutschland*, who says, "With us there are sufficient possibilities to speak about things which one believes one cannot agree with." This letter is only one of the hundreds which appeared in the paper over a period of several days.

Third, Rabinbach's conclusion that "intellectual dissent, Euro-Communism, and public disapproval" threaten to "wash away" the GDR government could not be farther from the truth. The people in the GDR are characterized by a sense of security completely lacking in this country: security of jobs, of health, of freedom from war, and of maintenance in old age.

—Chalmers Hardenbergh
Bangor, Me.

The good with the bad

Editor:

I applaud ITT's effort to provide a balanced account of the Wolf Biermann and related incidents in the GDR. Yet why does your coverage of the East European nations focus on dissidents. The thrust of such coverage is inevitably nar-

row and misleading. Such articles, divorced from a serious attempt to place dissenters in a broader social and historical context and at the exclusion of any articles discussing more positive aspects of these societies, leaves the reader with the same impressions as they might glean from news articles filtered through CIA media manipulators.

After three weeks in the GDR last Spring, I emerged (along with the other 25 students and faculty that I was with) amazed at how much I had been misled concerning the tremendous progress the East Germans have made.

It is crucial to examine the restrictions on criticism of one's society. Yet there are other questions to ask. What is the influence of remaining Stalinist ideas and practices, among the Moscow-trained leaders of the GDR? To what extent does Soviet influence limit free speech? How does the GDR's position on the front line of the cold war affect its need for political stability? What are the problems of reaching a national consensus for political and economic development in a nation where socialism was not founded by a mass movement but was implanted from without?

Also, one must look at the right to dissent in terms of a larger range of rights and freedoms, and compare these to our own society. What are the limitations to free speech in the U.S.? (think about the Wilmington 10 case, Senate Bill 1, the McCarthy era, etc.) Which country places greater emphasis on merit (as opposed to wealth) as a criterion for political influence? What are the forms for popular involvement in decision-making processes? (12 percent of all East German adults are members of the Communist party, the SED). What about the right to employment, equal opportunity, and a role in economic decision-making? Are these as fundamental as more "political" rights? (The GDR has no unemployment, a relatively even distribution of wealth, equal opportunities for men and women, and a growing role for trade unions and workplace committees in evaluating national economic objectives.) What about the right to quality health care and education? (The GDR boasts socialized health care, and a quality education system gives equal opportunity to children of all classes and regions.)

East Germany has many positive accomplishments. Housing there costs workers only 8 percent of their monthly wage. Women account for 47 percent of the leadership in the trade unions, 46 percent of all doctors, and 25 percent of all industrial managers, etc. Abortion and birth control rights are very advanced, and the GDR has the most extensive day-care system in the world.

The American left needs to reexamine its shallow ideological critique of the Socialist bloc nations, in light of the considerable material and ideological progress they have made. Our criticisms must be based on a thorough examination of those governments and peoples. A failure to do so only strengthens the "Solzhienitzyn mentality" so skillfully exploited in the West. I left the GDR convinced that the nation is sincerely moving forward to a democratic, prosperous, humane and peaceful society.

—Steve Law
Antioch, Ohio

Noam Chomsky

Education camps or tiger cages?

Peace movement activists should have exercised caution before letting the U.S. state propaganda apparatus transmit their claims that Vietnam had violated human rights.

On Dec. 29, 1976, the International League for Human Rights called a news conference to release to the American press a protest against violations of human rights in Vietnam signed by many former peace movement activists. The statement had been the subject of much controversy. I did not sign the statement myself, but I do not agree with much of the criticism that has been directed against the signers.

What is the present situation in Vietnam? Evidence is slim but not entirely lacking. Before turning to it, I would like to emphasize some facts that the press has predictably ignored. South Vietnam was virtually destroyed by American force in an attack of unprecedented savagery that was later extended to the rest of Indochina with equal ferocity. Now the U.S. has adopted the most severe policies, short of actual war, to reduce the prospects for those "ideological successes" that have always so concerned American global planners and that underlie the rational forms of the "domino theory." That is, the U.S. has acted to maximize the difficulties of social and economic reconstruction in the society it has systematically demolished so as to increase the likelihood that harsh measures will be instituted, in the hope that the new society will not provide a model for oppressed people in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and other regions that are still dominated by the U.S.

These realities cannot be ignored when a political act regarding Vietnam is undertaken by the U.S.

Consider the present situation in Vietnam. An extensive report by noncommunist observers who have visited the country appears in the recent book by Jean and Simone Lacouture, who visited Vietnam in the spring of 1976 (*Vietnam: voyage a travers une victoire*, Seuil, Paris, 1976). They describe a society being reconstructed from the ravages of the American war. The southern part of the country is undergoing what they call "Nor(th)-malization," an inevitable consequence of the American victory in South Vietnam that destroyed the popular forces there. They observe that the Vietnamese revolutionaries "are probably the first victors of a civil war (embittered, aggravated by two foreign interventions) who have not launched any operation of massive reprisals." Quite different, they comment, from Paris or Rome in 1944. They visited "reeducation camps" and commented—"with prejudice"—on what they have seen and heard. Among those subject to "reeducation" are "100,000 drug addicts left behind by the American Expeditionary Corps (Drugs, including opium, were rarely used in Vietnam until 1960, except by foreigners)" and unknown numbers of other social victims of the American war (prostitutes—they give the figures of 500,000, petty criminals, etc.). "The Vietnamese resistance," they point out, "more honorable than their French comrades of 1944, have not shaved the heads of the victims." The reeducation camps "are evidently not Gulag" (in contrast, the *New York Times* headlined a statement on the camps by a former USAID worker "Vietnam's 'Gulag Archipelago'"). Neither are they finishing schools. "Evidently, it is not terror, but it is also not quite clemency."

Apart from the reeducation camps, there are surely people who courageously opposed the Diem and Thieu regimes and who will find no place in the new society. They discuss one case.

The protest statement released in New York cites Father Tran Huu Thanh as someone who "opposed the Thieu government" and is now a political prisoner. Oppose the government he did, because it was not conducting the war with sufficient success. Prior to such opposition, he had been an active participant in the American-initiated programs of repression. He was an instructor of anti-Communism for Saigon military officers and director of an anti-Communist psychological warfare program. A group he headed condemned Thieu over a clandestine radio station in Saigon in 1974; a genuine third force activist, Father Chan Tin, suspected a CIA hand. Thanh's group refrained from calling for implementation of the Paris Agreements and put forth their program: the Communists "have to accept to come and live with us as a minority" (*N.Y. Times*, Oct. 31, 1974)—the standard U.S. government position at the time, and a position with consequences that will be easily understood by anyone familiar with the nature of the regimes imposed by American force since 1954. There are no doubt standards under which someone with his record should not be sent to a reeducation camp, but they are rather elevated.

A certain historical perspective is useful. Even if we put aside the massive atrocities committed by the resistance and others in liberated Europe under American occupation in 1944, consider American policy toward defeated Germany. U.S. High Commissioner Lucius Clay, in his report of Dec. 31, 1950, stated that denazification procedures in the American zone alone involved 13.5 million people, "of whom 3.66 million were found chargeable and of these some 800,000 were made subject to penalty for their party affiliations or actions," all of this "apart from the punishment of war criminals." Applying the standards by which the Vietnamese are condemned for their treatment of Tran Huu Thanh, the American denazification program was an intolerable outrage, not to speak of the fate of collaborators at the hands of those who had suffered directly from Nazi terror.

Does the actual repression in Vietnam merit public protest at this time and under the existing circumstances? Two issues must be distinguished: (1) the Vietnamese analogue of "denazification;" (2) the character of the new society. The second question is a most important one, but it is not at issue here. If one objects to the course being taken in reconstructing Vietnamese society, the proper medium of protest is not a press conference and a public statement, just as we do not call a press conference to present a statement denouncing the U.S. or Germany or Japan for their commitment to state capitalism, wage-slavery, denial of the right of workers' control in industry, and so on. Matters of the highest importance, no doubt, but not relevant in this context. What is at stake is (1), allegations concerning the abuse of human rights on the part of the ruling authorities, in the narrow sense of the term that the International League for Human Rights takes as its province.

Let us assume that credible information is produced indicating that there are severe human rights violations in Vietnam of the sort alleged: thousands of political prisoners, and so on. Then protest is warranted. But some serious questions arise about the proper mode, given the historical record and existing circumstances. Included here are some elementary questions of simple



Photo by LNS

good taste. Speaking personally, I would agree to sign an appropriately worded protest against human rights violations in Vietnam if it were released, say, in Sweden, or were presented to the public through some medium that emerged with a shred of honor from the catastrophes of the past years. But as for a protest presented to the public through the American mass media, that is quite another matter.

The American press, despite current pretense, supported the war through the worst atrocities, lying and concealing crucial information in the service of the state. There were exceptions; in particular, there were a few honest correspondents. But as a general statement, this is fair enough. To cite only one of innumerable examples, eyewitness reports by noncommunist observers on the savage bombing of defenseless Northern Laos were knowingly concealed by the national press for a long period, as were many other horrors. Furthermore, the background of imperial planning of the 1940s and 1950s has always been concealed, despite ample documentation. The origins and nature of the war were grossly distorted throughout and still are, a fact that I and others have documented in considerable detail.

There never was much doubt that the protest would be presented to the public through the American press. It is striking that European noncommunist leftists, at least in my contacts with them, seem quite generally to regard this performance as indecent if not obscene. Americans tend to have a different perception. For some, at least, the reason may lie in the remarkable submissiveness of American intellectuals to the state propaganda apparatus and its doctrines.

► Press treatment of the protest.

The treatment of the protest by the press was extensive—a bit ironic, when one recalls the efforts to bring information about the war to the press for many years. Quite predictably, the press passed in silence over the fact that the protest called for "massive reparations for the destruction" caused by American violence or its reference to "the horrors suffered beneath America's bombers," though the *Times* did observe that some protesters "felt that United States involvement in the war had been unjust." The press reported that others refused to sign the protest "because of

its criticism of Hanoi, the sponsors said." This is false, in some cases at least, as the sponsors know very well but have yet to state publicly.

I will omit any discussion of what the protesters said at the press conference. But one participant, Congressman Edward Koch, has explained his views in a letter to the *New York Times* (Jan. 28). He says that he opposed the war "from a conviction that the United States should not become embroiled in a civil war between two repressive regimes." This remarkable version of history must have aroused cackles of amusement in the propaganda bureaus and editorial offices. It conforms precisely to the fabrications of the state propaganda apparatus but is a little difficult to reconcile with the historical record. The U.S. first supported the French, then imposed a regime of murder and oppression on South Vietnam, then engaged directly in military action against the mass popular forces in South Vietnam, and then extended the war beyond—well before there was any direct North Vietnamese military engagement in support of the South, as the Pentagon Papers and other sources make very clear. The primary victims of American violence were always the people of South Vietnam. They were the ones subjected to pacification and "population control," the Phoenix program and destructive ground sweeps, defoliation and ecocide, pounding by bombs and artillery in free fire zones, and the rest of the familiar story. The war was extended to the North in an effort to compel the North Vietnamese to put pressure on the Southern resistance to stop at a time when American intelligence knew of no direct participation by North Vietnamese military units. The savage attack on Laos and Cambodia had nothing to do with "a civil war between two repressive regimes." Koch's rendition of history serves as a remarkable tribute to the effectiveness of the state propaganda apparatus.

Koch goes on to say that he sees no "real difference between the tiger cages of South Vietnam and the 'education camps' of the Vietnam of today." Again, a most amazing comment, if we rely on the evidence now available. I will simply cite again Jean Lacouture, on whom the initiators of the protest statement rely as a "trusted source of news":

Continued to page 17.



Photo by LHS

"There were other pictures too: those of the penal colony of Poulo-Condore, created by the French, perfected by the Americans with their terrible 'tiger cages.' Tens of thousands of men and women rotted away there. Only one prisoner in four survived."

Congressman Koch is telling us that he sees no real difference between these penal colonies created and perfected by foreign force and what he has reported about the "education camps" of today. By similar logic, some German dissident in 1944 might have said that he sees no "real difference" between the punishment of collaborators in France and the Holocaust.

Koch adds finally that for him "there is only a single standard." That is true enough: it is the standard of subservience to the state and propaganda. Even the most extreme advocate of American "intervention" will delight in Koch's interesting rendition of history.

The editorial comment in the press is no less remarkable. Consider the *Christian Science Monitor*, which not long ago was featuring commentary by its leading pundit on the relative advantages of bombing trucks and bombing dams. The latter, he observed, is so much more satisfying to the pilots as "the water can be seen to pour through the breach and drown out huge areas of farm land, and villages, in its path." Bombing dams "will flood villages, drown people, destroy crops." But perhaps it is still not worthwhile because "there is no evidence that this causing of pain to civilians in North Vietnam (sic)" will bring Hanoi to the negotiating table (Joseph Harsch, Sept. 5, 1967). Today, with the hypocritical moralism that is its hallmark, the *Monitor* discusses the lessons that have "been all too belatedly learned by activists from the movement against American involvement." Hanoi's rejection of the protest "can only confirm the aggressive authoritarianism which America got into the war to resist." Typically, the *Monitor* makes its characteristic contribution to reinforcing the propaganda fabrications of the state it serves, with regard to the origins of the war and to the motives of those who opposed it.

The *Monitor* editorial then has the unmitigated gall to proclaim that now "the U.S. and other nations have to evaluate Vietnam's potentiality as a responsible world citizen." After the events of the past years, the United States must evaluate Vietnam as a "responsible world citizen," helped in this assessment by the *Monitor*, which has so clearly revealed its moral

stand and appreciation of historical events, as the quoted comments demonstrate. One can only watch open-mouthed in astonishment. I will refrain from pursuing the analogy to Nazi Germany, cited earlier.

These responses are not untypical. They reveal clearly the significance of the release of the protest to the American press, understood as a political act. The intention of the signers was, no doubt, to help victims of repression. The clearest and most significant consequence of the mode of protest they have chosen, which could easily have been foreseen and is now entirely obvious, is somewhat different. This political act contributes to the efforts on the part of the state propaganda apparatus—I include here the mass media—to reconstruct the history of the American involvement in Vietnam to fit the image of American benevolence, occasionally misguided; that is, to help lay the basis in public opinion for new episodes of this sort in the future.

There is absolutely no reason for anti-war activists to remain silent in the face of credible evidence regarding human rights violations in Vietnam, or more deeply, with regard to the society being constructed in Vietnam—though I stress again that this crucial question is not what is at issue here. But history suggests a certain degree of caution. Many of us, myself included, have criticized the North Vietnamese sharply in the past for alleged atrocities that were later revealed to be fabrications of American and Saigon intelligence. The land reform of the early 1950s is a striking example. It is equally striking that long after the propaganda fabrications had been exposed by Gareth Porter, and conceded by the former head of the Central Psychological War Service in Saigon, they are solemnly repeated as fact. This is not the only example.

By all means, we should continue to apply the single standard of judgment so grossly violated by the press, by academic scholarship, by Congressman Koch, and quite generally by those who are sometimes called "the American intellectual elite." But this commitment should not translate itself into service to the institutions of state propaganda. This is what has happened in the present case. Those who initiated the appeal now have an excellent opportunity to set the matter right. They have a public platform. I see no reason why they should not use it.

—Noam Chomsky
Cambridge, Mass.

Press profit-motive violates right to fair trial

Should the courts censor the press? It sounds like a heretical idea, one devised by a clique of rightists. Until recently, however, it was an infrequent, but effective technique applied by trial courts to insure a defendant charged with a crime a fairer trial, one not poisoned by pre-trial publicity. Moreover, it was the best remedy available to those who wish to insure due process to a defendant.

To understand why gag orders were and are so important one must know their background. In most criminal trials a defendant is arrested and tried without any media coverage or interest. But in a growing minority of cases, a citizen has the misfortune of being charged with an unpopular crime, or for allegedly victimizing a popular citizen. When that occurs, the media emblazons its front pages with massive pre-trial publicity.

What is most disturbing about such "reporting" is that the "information" comes directly from the offices of the prosecutor or the police. A confession is reported, or the suspect's prior criminal record is revealed, or unpopular or unusual political, sexual or social views of the accused are recounted. Even if such reports are true, which usually they are not, publication makes the selection of an impartial jury impossible. Thus a defendant is tried by the newspapers, on the basis of information, often false, not given under oath, and often not even admissible at trial.

Traditional techniques to insure an unbiased trial have usually failed. So in the 1960s the courts turned to two related techniques: first they gagged the parties to the case (the police, prosecutors and defense) by ordering them to not speak to the press regarding the case.

Such orders were somewhat successful, enough so to cause dozens of angry editorials condemning the actions. The newspapers and the prosecuting forces, however, were not deterred. Police or prosecutors would leak information in violation of the court order in consideration of a promise from the newspaper not to divulge the source. Prosecutorial leakage with impunity became a frequent problem.

Because of this, some courts chose to use a more radical—and direct—route to protect defendants. If they could not shut up the prosecutors, they could order the press not to print certain information prior to trial. Such press gag rulings never became common, but they were employed with great success, despite the hysterical claims of the media that such rulings thwarted crusading journalism.

Such claims were sheer nonsense. No gag order of the press ever prevented the

media from reporting on the occurrence of any crime or the arrest of any individual, either for a petty theft or Watergate. The press was simply restrained from relating damaging or incriminating allegations about a defendant before such allegations were made under oath at a public hearing. The press was thus told to delay its reporting of rumors until a defendant could be insured an unpoisoned trial.

Despite the logic and success of press gag orders the U.S. Supreme Court last year rejected such a Wisconsin order. In its decision it came so close to declaring press gag orders unconstitutional *per se* that most court observers believe, I think accurately, that the Supreme Court as currently constituted will never validate any order that censors the press.

Gag orders in the future, then, will have to revert to directing themselves against the parties. As in the past, they will be no more successful than the people allow them to be. The prosecutors and the press have an incentive to violate the orders. The public, however, has an interest in insuring fair trials.

The danger is that as long as the press continues to write inordinate numbers of columns opposing all gag orders, the public will not learn where its interests lie.

Moreover, unfortunately, most people on the socialist left have remained silent on the issue, either because they are confused or because they fear being "misunderstood" if they oppose the press.

The American Civil Liberties Union, however, has recently spoken out in favor of such orders. It has recommended the adoption of gag orders that fully restrict prosecutors and police from the dissemination of information, but that do not so limit the defense. (This would run contrary to present gag orders, which needlessly censor the defense. Such orders frustrate attempts to rebut rumors and to try to obtain legitimate community support for the defendant.)

Moreover, the ACLU favors the jailing of reporters who refuse to name their official sources who have violated the gag rulings. This position is both right and courageous.

It is about time that socialists come off the fence and take a firm principled stand in favor of the ACLU recommendation. The capitalist press is not interested in defending anyone's constitutional rights but its own. It is interested in profit, and as elsewhere, the profit motive is not generally conducive to the protection of the people's rights.

Joshua Dressler is a lawyer who teaches at the University of San Fernando Valley College of Law, Los Angeles. His column appears regularly.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

FOOD

Americans need a new diet

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

A man stands in a field of corn (or is it wheat?). A tractor has carved "100%" in letters the size of a football field on the field. He's telling America how many synthetic vitamins a cereal manufacturer has put into its breakfast cereal. He leaves out what the manufacturer left out—nutrients lost in the processing of grain to make the cereal. But, on the other hand, ten years ago he probably would only have told us that the cereal would make us happy, sexy, successful or champions. In its own way the food industry has responded to America's increased awareness about nutrition.

The federal government is responding too. The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs recently issued a report that said health care costs could be cut by a third if the American diet were improved. According to the committee, six out of ten of the leading causes of death are tied to what we eat and drink.

The average American today takes in 60 percent of his or her calories through simple carbohydrates in the form of starch or sugar, which increases the likelihood of heart disease, diabetes and tooth decay, the committee found.

The committee recommends a diet with 60 percent of the calories from complex carbohydrates (fruits, vegetables and whole grains). Poultry and fish should replace red meat, and skim and low-fat milk products should replace those high in butterfat to cut down on saturated fat consumption.

The report recommends eating a lot less processed baked goods and soft drinks, the principle causes of high intake of sugar. To cut salt intake (which has been linked to hypertension) to the recommended three grams a day, the report says to be wary of cured meats, catsup, pickles, popcorn and potato chips.

►Most findings already known.

There are millions of Americans to whom this advice comes as no surprise. They are the readers of Adele Davis' popular nutrition books that pulled together many scientific studies about human nutrition in a readable form. Or, they are the hundreds of thousands of people juggling a brown bag of bulgur wheat as they weigh up their lentils and avocados in crowded natural food stores. While some diets advocated as health foods are of questionable value, the information in the Senate study has been available for many years. If anything, the report can be criticized for leaving out many issues, such as the level of



Health care costs could be cut by a third if the American diet were improved, says the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition.

poisons such as DDT in animal products and the possible harmful effect of preservatives and artificial ingredients.

There are some, however, who found the report downright disturbing. *Food Chemical News*, an aptly titled magazine written for food industry executives, said the report "stepped on the toes of the dairy, egg and meat lobbies."

Or take John White, high in the upper reaches of public relations at Coca-Cola headquarters. What does he think of the committee's saying that, contrary to the new slogan "Coke Adds Life," "foods" like Coke were contributing to the leading causes of death?

"That's an extreme view," said Mr. White sourly. He was a lot less animated than the young fun-lovers in the Coke commercials. "Well, Mr. White," I said, "it's the Senate committee's view, not my own. But how would you react if the government started making you stamp, 'Warning, drinking this may be hazardous to your health' on every bottle?"

"They couldn't do that," he answered. "Soft drinks have been used since the dawn of time. There will always be a place for soft drinks in the human diet. It's a refreshment beverage, and people will always need refreshment."

"But Mr. White," I said, "this report says that too much sugar is making us all sick."

►Moderate and conciliatory.

It's too bad he hung up on me so fast. I was going to tell him that I don't really think they will stamp that on the bottles. After all, George McGovern, head of the committee, said, "We don't want war with the food industry and the agricultural producers; we need their cooperation."

The report takes a moderate stance throughout, carefully avoiding recommendations that would threaten the profits of agribusiness. The report seems to be written in hopes that reason will persuade the food industry to cooperate, since it is backed by no political grouping that wields as much clout as agribusiness.

Even with that moderate attitude, the committee's days are numbered. In a recent reorganization vote, the Senate gave the committee only until the end of this year. Then it will become a subcommittee of Agriculture, with far less control of what it does. McGovern protested the vote, saying the hungry poor didn't have the resources to lobby for the committee to continue. The food industry, on the other hand, is represented by numerous powerful lobbies.

I asked Swift and Co., who make a lot of ham and bacon, which came under criticism in the report for having too much saturated fat and salt, what they think about the committee blaming the food industry for "a wave of malnutrition" even among affluent Americans?

"Swift and Co. has always been interested in nutrition education," said spokesperson Liz Sode. "We recently built a \$1.3 million exhibit on nutrition at the Museum of Science and Industry." I went right down to check that one out. The exhibit features plastic replicas of typical American meals: plastic meat, potatoes, and vegetable, with a plastic glass of plastic milk, all in a plastic case.

►After all, you can pick and choose.

At Kraft Foods, Sara Vectors of public relations assured me they are "committed to producing only the finest food products for the American home."

When I asked about products like a box dinner (four largest ingredients: enriched spaghetti, sugar, salt, food starch) she said, "One thing that's made the American food industry great is that it manufactures a wide variety of products, some very nutritious, and some less so. That way Americans can pick and choose."

Between the agricultural producers and the food industry stands an institution known as the Commodity Board of Trade. Through its halls flow all the basic foodstuffs—corn, rice, wheat, soybeans, etc.—or at least pieces of paper representing these things flow. Great fortunes are made there. What role does this great middleman play in the deteriorating American diet?

I called them up and asked. The woman who answered the phone couldn't see any relationship. "I'm going to let someone talk to you who can give you some background, because from the sound of your question, you certainly need it," she said.

A nice young man patiently explained that it isn't so much the corn and rice that are sold there, as the risks that the crops

will be bigger or smaller. Speculation, he explained, means that financiers take the risk out of the business for farmers and food processors alike.

But, I pressed on, shouldn't there be some connection? Here's an institution dealing with a basic human need; shouldn't it have something to do with whether and how the need is being met?

No, he explained. "The board of trade just keeps cash and commodities flowing. It has nothing to do with what processors do once the food is sold."

►Out for profit.

That, of course, is the heart of it. The entire food industry is there not to nourish us, but to keep cash and commodities flowing, to make a profit.

Giant food conglomerates are automating every step of food processing. Often the mechanical processes are more expensive than the workers they displace. But in the long run the food processors can pass on the costs to us, and the machines won't get sick, strike or become bored with the job. The corporation eventually has higher profits and more control.

The increased automation means centralizing in ever larger plants. Fewer workers are needed (and their work is more readily controlled) in a huge plant or plants where hamburgers are stamped out, rolls are baked, lettuce is shredded, tomatoes and onions are chopped and sliced than to set up a neighborhood kitchen and make hamburgers from scratch. Every bit of processing that can be centralized means higher profits; only the final "assembly" goes on in your neighborhood food outlet.

The principle is the same for a TV dinner; because the whole operation is centralized and automated they can sell it often for less than the cost of preparing the same meal at home—with far less than the nutritional value of the fresh-cooked meal, however. The same techniques are increasingly being used on stuffed flounder and *coq au vin* in "gourmet" restaurants.

All this creates the need for a long "shelf life" since the plants are increasingly distant from the place where we finally eat the food. And that means BHA, BHT and their like to preserve food, and products like "hydrogenated palm oil" (the principle ingredient of whipped toppings) that don't go bad on the shelf, but don't do us much good either.

►Research and education.

The nutrition committee wants to fund a program to research "new techniques in food processing and meal preparation to reduce risk factors in the diet." Techniques of two generations ago would do that, but would also present a high risk factor for corporate profit.

The committee also wants a federal program of nutrition education to counteract the over \$1 billion the food industry spends each year on ads, mostly for junk food. They'd better come up with something more imaginative than what's in the typical public school today. There the teacher has charts with pictures of the five "basic food groups" and lessons telling the student to eat for breakfast: eggs, bacon, toast, cereal, milk and orange juice. Then the students go to the cafeteria where in an increasing number of schools the federally subsidized lunch program has been contracted out, for convenience and cheapness, to a manufacturer of school lunch TV dinners. Benton, Ark., public schools took the ultimate step: they invited McDonalds in to set up shop in the school lunchroom. And at the side of most cafeterias we find none other than well-stocked Coke and ice cream machines.

Diet Recommendations

The report on "Dietary Goals for the United States" prepared by the staff of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs made the following suggestions on the foods Americans should eat:

Complex Carbohydrates — Fresh fruits, vegetables and whole grains, including white and sweet potatoes, dark green and yellow vegetables, dry beans and peas. Fresh and frozen produce more nutritious than canned. Highly refined and processed food, such as instant mashed potatoes, not so nutritious. Brown rice better than converted and white enriched rice, but all three better than instant. Hot cooked whole grain breakfast cereals better than ready-to-eat cereals, but "instant" and quick-cooking cereals not so nutritious as long-cooking.

Fats — Concentrate on foods that have 30 percent or less of calories from fat, including beef pot roast, light meat

of chicken, liver, perch, halibut, sole, skim milk, uncreamed cottage cheese. Avoid high-fat items such as peanut butter, wieners, lunch meat, eggs, regular ground beef and whole milk. Butter is 50 percent saturated fat, while safflower oil is only 9 percent, and safflower margarine 13 percent.

Cholesterol — Skim milk, uncreamed cottage cheese are low in cholesterol (5-7 mg.); cheddar cheese, whole milk, butter and red meat higher (25-85 mg.); highest cholesterol are eggs (250 ms. each), liver and other interior organs (370-1,700 mg. for 3 oz.).

Sodium (salt) — All fruits and fruit juices are low salt, as are butter and cooking oils. Avoid salted meats such as bacon, ham, lunch meats; smoked and salted fish, such as anchovies; peanut butter, bouillon, catsup, chili sauce, prepared mustard, pickles, potato chips, popcorn, other salted snacks.

WORK IN AMERICA

Common Sense for Hard Times

COMMON SENSE FOR HARD TIMES
By Jeremy Brecher and Tim Costello
Two Continents/Institute for Policy Studies, N.Y.
\$3.95 (paper); \$11.95

As a consequence of hard times "mil-
lions of people have been questioning
aspects of their society that they have
long taken for granted and turning to ac-
tions they have never before considered."
Proceeding upon this premise, Brecher
and Costello offer two essential bits of
common sense to the multitudes of new
social skeptics:

"Their grievances and frustrations are
rooted in the nature of American capital-
ist society.

"The working people, seemingly power-
less, actually possess the power not only
"to cope with everyday life," but to
"transform society in the 1970s."

The book's focus is on "the daily activ-
ity of working people," primarily in the
workplace, on how employers exercise
their power to make workers more pliable
and more profitable, and on how the
workers resist. To illuminate the present
condition the authors trace the historical
development that alienated producers
from the means of production, trans-
forming them into wage-workers without
control over the production process or
the product of their labor.

The book is at its best in its popular,
point-of-production critique of Ameri-
can capitalism, in its depiction of the in-
cessant warfare between the classes, in
its call to battle for a new society, which
is given no name but is described as one
in which "the majority take possession
in common of the means of production
and organize their own labor themselves."

The difficulties arise on the plane of
theory and strategy. The authors assert
that the book was not intended "to prove
any argument or theory," that it should be
seen as "a starting point," and not as
"any kind of last word." But it is not pos-
sible to write this sort of book without
theory and some argument for it, even if it
is not couched in the dogmatic mold of
"last word." Predilections present in
Brecher's previous book, *Strike!*, are also
manifest in the current one: a preponder-
ant emphasis on the economic power and
struggle of the workers and a corres-
ponding depreciation of the political
sphere and political conflict; a partiality

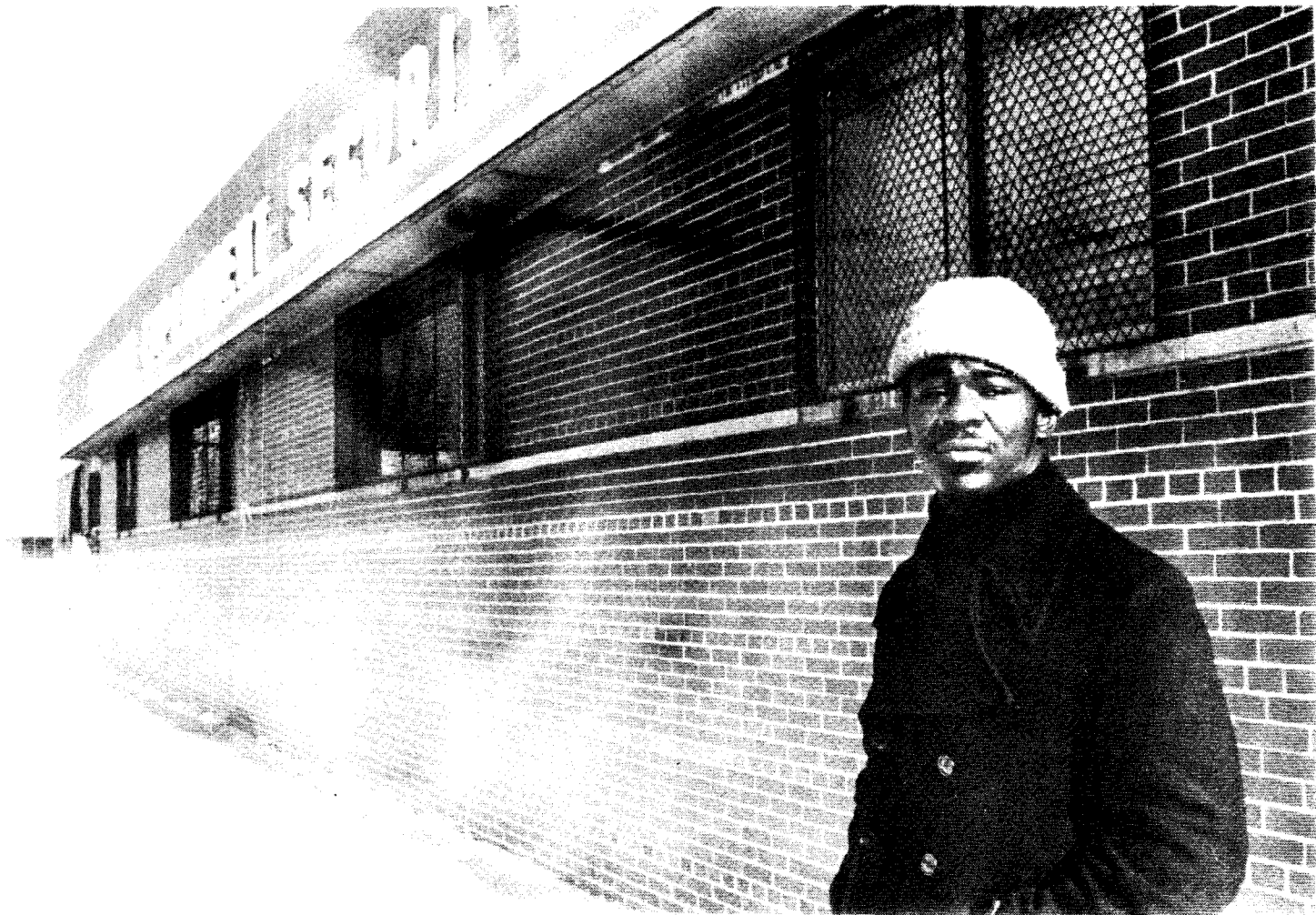


Photo by Cidne Hart/LNS

Brecher and Costello argue the simple precept that working people, seeming powerless, actually possess the power not only
"to cope with everyday life," but to "transform society in the 1970s."

to spontaneity in working-class action
and self-organization; a generic critique
of "the union" as an incorrigibly conser-
vative and bureaucratic structure that is
not only separate from the ordinary work-
er but is fundamentally at odds with his or
her vital interests.

All these ideas reflect theoretical view-
points which, in a variety of forms, have
been subjects of intense controversy. One
can appreciate the authors' disinclination
to complicate a popular primer on Ameri-
can capitalism with intramural radical dis-
putes. Yet, the consequence is a certain in-
genuoussness in the treatment of such old
and knotty issues as the relationship be-
tween spontaneity and consciousness, be-
tween economics and politics, or the role
of leadership.

As for the treatment of unions, it seems

to me that it is one thing to recognize their
limitations, and to point out that these
limitations are not simply the impositions
of "bad guys" but are conditioned by un-
ion function and structure; but it is quite
another thing to counsel workers that
struggle for revitalization and democratiza-
tion of unions is futile.

A serious argument about the implica-
tions of such an abdication would exceed
the bounds of this review. The elementary
point is, however, that the unions still are
the primary and most comprehensive or-
ganizations of the working class, com-
prised of some 15-17 million men and
women of diverse ethnic strains, all of
them exploited, alienated, repressed. This
labor movement is a cauldron of contra-
dictions and tensions, of conflict between
the norms of business unionism and the

needs and aspirations of the men and wo-
men whose labor supports the entire social
edifice. It contains all the levels of con-
sciousness within the working class.

Within this cauldron, workers have
fought, are fighting, and will continue to
fight, irrespective of counsel that their ef-
fort is futile. True, struggle within the con-
stricting confines of trade unionism will
not solve the fundamental problems of the
working class, but then the issue is to de-
fine an effective relationship between such
limited struggle and the more profound
and more embracing struggle that can
solve those problems through the revolu-
tionary transformation of society.

—Al Richmond

Al Richmond is author of *Long View from the Left*
and former editor of the *Daily People's World*.

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A record boycott over portrayal of women

Rock album covers and promotion increasingly portray women as victims.

By Irene Wolt

The record cover has a picture of a woman's crotch with the large title, "Jump on it." Another shows a nude woman covered with honey with men laughing in the background. A third shows a disheveled woman, beaten unconscious, lying in a seductive pose. Yet another, entitled "Pleasure," portrays a naked woman, head shaven, with her arms chained above her.

The neighborhood porn shop? No, these covers adorn rock albums in almost any record store in the nation. It's part of a trend. Rock album covers and trade promotion increasingly portray women as victims.

A group of women in California, Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW), is trying to do something about it. They point out that the rock covers and ads imply that women like and expect to be victimized, and that normal male sexual behavior consists of treating women brutally. They believe the illustrations condone and indirectly encourage violence against women by promoting the idea that rape and assault are not serious issues.

Some authorities agree. Psychoanalyst Natalie Shainess, for instance, says that as rape becomes more common in the mass media, rapists become more resistant to therapy aimed at changing their behavior.

The group first came together last year to protest the Los Angeles screening of *Snuff*. That film purported to show the actual rape and dismemberment of a woman. As a result of WAVAW action, the film's run was shortened and advertisements withdrawn.

The group next persuaded Atlantic Re-

cords to remove a huge billboard advertising the Rolling Stones' album "Black and Blue." The Sunset Strip billboard showed a bound and bruised woman with the caption "I'm black and blue from the Rolling Stones and I love it." Atlantic refused, however, to meet WAVAW's other demands: to stop the entire "Black and Blue" campaign, to publicly apologize to women, and to stop using sexual violence in all promotion.

Since the trend is industry-wide, WAVAW and California NOW decided to make the same demands of all major record companies. They have focused on Warner/Elektra/Atlantic, the largest and most prestigious. They point out that their demands have a precedent. Record companies have already agreed not to use covers or promotion that glorifies the use of drugs.

WAVAW stresses the question is not one of obscenity, "but of the perpetuation and condoning of assaults, long-term physical and emotional injuries and deaths to women."

Since Warner/Elektra/Atlantic have refused to respond to WAVAW demands, the group has launched a boycott of all WEA products. Other WEA labels are Atco, Asylum, Nonesuch and Reprise. A leaflet campaign in front of California department and record stores has already led to the offensive albums being refused in many cases.

Warner is claiming that it has no jurisdiction; that the responsibility lies with individual artists. WAVAW spokesperson Julia London calls this "a shabby attempt to evade completely the issue of corporate responsibility."

Officials of New York's NOW and its Images and Rape Prevention task force have thrown their support to the boycott and both New York and California groups plan to bring the matter up at NOW's April national meeting, proposing that the boycott be made nationwide in scope.

WAVAW doesn't know if the boycott has yet had an impact on sales. The pub-

licity and growing support, such as a recent resolution supporting WAVAW passed by Los Angeles City Council, may give Warners reason to be concerned. "They must be scared of what might happen to their public image. We're on the offensive, and we plan to stay there," said Jeane Bendorf of California NOW.

WAVAW can be contacted c/o Feminist Women's Health Center, 1112 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles, 90019—phone (213) 936-6293.

Irene Wolt is a Los Angeles writer and co-author with Bob Gottlieb of a forthcoming book on the Los Angeles Times.

Carolina worker sues for brown lung damages

Columbia, S.C. For 25 years, Omry Glenn worked in the spinning room of the Olympia Mill. Every day he was surrounded at work by a fine white haze of cotton dust.

The dust gathered in his lungs over the years. Like tens of thousands working in southern cotton mills, Glenn became a victim of brown lung, or byssinosis. His lungs gradually crippled, Glenn was troubled by wracking coughs, continual shortness of breath, and fatigue in the face of even small physical efforts.

In the past, crippling disabilities like Glenn's were treated as simply part of life in the mills, largely ignored by the medical profession and by the mill owners who came south in search of cheap, non-union labor.

Although the existence of the disease and its origins were well-documented in this country and Britain by the 1930s, many industry spokesmen still minimize or deny the risk to their workers.

But the workers are beginning to fight back, Omry Glenn among them. Aided by the Carolina Brown Lung Association, Glenn has filed suit against his former employers and the manufacturers of the equipment which crippled him.

Glenn is claiming \$1 million in damages from Lowenstein & Sons, Inc., owners of the Olympia Mill, and from three equipment manufacturers, Platt Saco Lowell, Bahnson, and Parks-Cramer, who pro-

duced the spinning machine and ventilation systems at the mill where he worked.

Glenn's suit charged that the defendants negligently produced and used equipment which created an unsafe environment because of cotton dust and chemicals produced in normal operation. The defendants also failed to warn him of the dangers he faced or of steps he might have taken to protect himself.

The prospects for Glenn's suit are uncertain. A similar suit in the asbestos industry led to a judgment for damages against the employer.

Organizers for the Brown Lung Association expect the suit to meet vigorous and well-financed opposition from industry. Nearly one out of every four working Americans faces some form of mild or severe occupational disease or injury each year. Many industries are known to routinely expose their employees to substances which create a high risk of cancer or other severe long-term effects.

Challenged on these practices, employers have denied the dangers exist, or have protested that it would not be economically feasible—profitable—to provide a safe work environment.

Omry Glenn's damage suit represents one more attempt to challenge this callous economic logic.

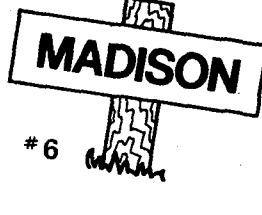
—Bob McMahon

Bob McMahon is a writer living in North Carolina.



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- #2 "WORKING WOMEN AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY" by Henriette Roland-Holst. "THE WOMAN QUESTION" by Eleanor Marx. "FEMINIST REVOLUTION TODAY" by "Tiresias," also poetry, art, fiction of socialist feminism.
- #3 "THE GREAT OSHKOSH WOODWORKER STRIKE OF 1898," with the magnificent Defense speech of Clarence Darrow; described by TELOS as "an original contribution to the social and political history of the American working class."
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM



Colonist pimp arrives in Sandakan, Borneo, with new Karayuki-san. (Insert) Keiko listens to old Osaki's story.

Brothel 8, at last a great feminist film!

This time last year, *Brothel 8* (*Bokyo Sandakan #8*) was nominated as Japan's entry in the Best Foreign Film category in the U.S. Academy Award derby. It had already won all major Japanese awards:

- Best Motion Picture
- Film Goers' Choice (one we do not have)
- Critics' Choice
- Best Actress
- Best director

It was also that exceedingly rare phenomenon—a real feminist film, and a political one, at that.

Brothel 8 did not win an Oscar. No American distributor showed any interest in acquiring the U.S. rights, and it was not shown commercially in any U.S. city. It took six months for anyone to discover what we were missing.

In July, the second-string film critic of the *Chicago Sun Times* was invited to a screening of the film, which was to be shown in a Japanese film series that runs on week-ends at a private high school. Christine Nieland wrote a rave review, which said among other things that *Brothel 8* "is one of the most damning indictments of the exploitation of women that I have ever seen."

On the basis of her enthusiasm, Richard Stern, who owns a small art house in a Chicago suburb, went to see the film. He was equally impressed and began making inquiries about the rights.

There had been no publicity except for Nieland's review, and Stern does only minimal advertising. But word of mouth was good enough to attract audiences that held the film over for a second, and then a third profitable week.

►Number three of top ten.

Stern moved it to his other theater (inside city limits) which is larger and draws from a less sophisticated community. Here *Brothel 8* played only one week. In that time it was seen by two of Chicago's major film critics, both of whom gave it high ratings. Gene Siskel of the *Chicago Tribune* listed *Brothel 8* as number three on his list of the year's Ten Best Films.

At this point, Stern decided to take what is an unusual gamble for a small exhibitor. He went into partnership with Omar Kaihatsu—Chicago representative of Toho, the Japanese production and distribution company, who was responsible for the first private showings here. Together they bought the rights to *Brothel 8* for the entire United States.

►Only one print available.

That meant, in practical terms, that they owned one print of the film—probably the one sent over for the Academy showing—cut to two hours running time, with English subtitles "burned on."

The film was brought back to the Wilmette Theater for another four week run while Stern and Kaihatsu made arrangements to

acquire another print from Japan, and began to contact potential exhibitors in other parts of the U.S. This is not the way foreign—or alternative—films are usually promoted. An unknown film sponsored by an unknown distributor, located in a mid-western suburb, does not immediately grab the attention of theater owners in Los Angeles or San Francisco or New York. The partners are also inexperienced in the field of "exploitation" and must learn the ropes as they go.

But at this writing, the omens are good. As the Wilmette run closes, the print is scheduled to go to California, where one exhibitor has already expressed interest. When another print is available, it will go to New York. After that, with luck, O&R Film Distributors (Kashatsu and Stern's distributing company) will have broken into the small circle that determines what foreign films U.S. audiences see, and U.S. audiences will have reason to be grateful to them.

►Three superb actresses.

There is a lot to cheer about in the case of *Brothel 8*. It is visually exquisite. It is politically sharp—the satiric attack on the proponents of Japan's Greater Southeast Asia Co-prosperity Sphere is murderous. It is superbly acted by not one, but three female stars. The Best Actress award went to Kinuyo Tanaka for her performance as Usaki, the old woman. But the

other two—Komaki Kurihara, who plays a feminist historian, and Yoko Takahasi, who plays the young Osaki—are Oscar calibre performers as well.

►Karayuki-san colonists.

It is the film's story—or, more precisely, two stories, and the way they are interwoven—that makes *Brothel 8* so unique. One is an historical account of an institution—long since abolished—that epitomizes the exploitation of women (poor, young and uneducated) by individual entrepreneurs and an imperialist system. The Karayuki-san were girls sold into what amounted to slavery by desperate peasant families and shipped overseas to staff a network of brothels in the port cities of Southeast Asia, where Japan was trying to establish a commercial foothold. *Brothel 8* is, on one level, the personal tragedy of one such victim.

On another level it is the contemporary story of an extraordinary relationship between two women, one old and destitute, the other a modern, liberated professional. Keiko Mitani (Komaki Kurihara) comes to a remote Japanese island to gather information on the Karayuki-san for a study and discovers in the person of old Osaki, a living document. The trouble is that the old woman has been too often humiliated by her past and is unwilling to talk about it.

It takes a month for Keiko to

get Osaki's story, and during that month the two women live together in Osaki's bug- and cat-infested hovel. What grows between them is too deep and too complex to be pigeonholed under any particular name. It engages an audience long before the story of the child-prostitute has taken hold. When it is threatened, suspense is generated. When it flowers, the bitterness of the other story is made bearable. And when it is, inevitably, doomed by time, the anguish of the old woman cuts like a knife.

►Faults for fault-finders.

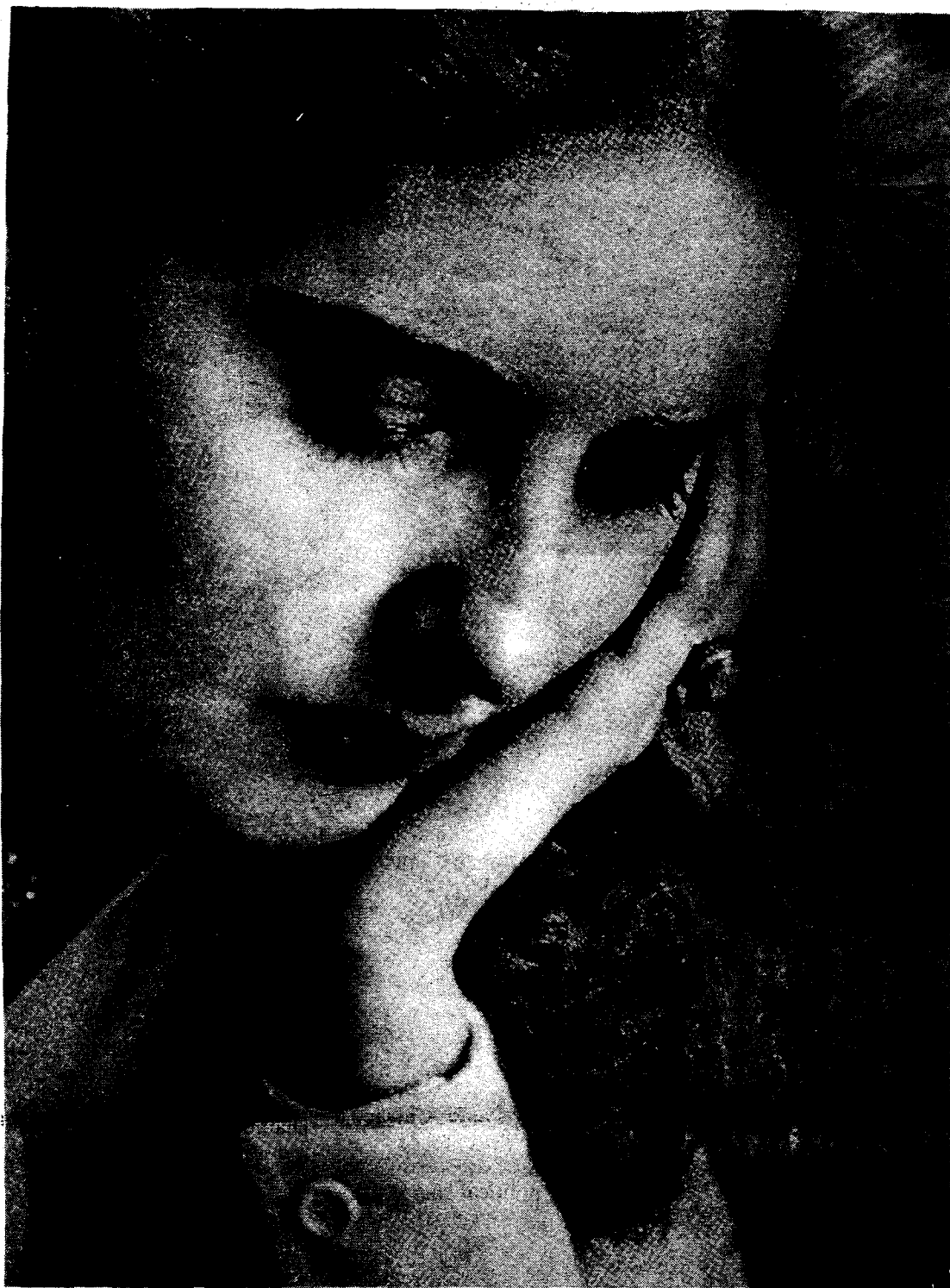
There are faults to be found for those who want to look for them. Some of the cutting (presumably to reduce the playing time) does violence to the plot-logic. The tone of the remembered story is uneven, at times almost farcical (as in the arrival of Japanese seamen in the brothel district), and the transitions to realism are too abrupt. There is a stagey quality to some of the outdoor scenes in which the young prostitutes solicit customers, and the Imperial Representative is a figure of low comedy.

But none of these lapses are apparent in the contemporary story, and it may be that they are a function of the old woman's memory. In any case, it doesn't matter much. The impact of *Brothel 8* is total as it stands.

—Janet Stevenson

BOOKS

Hite Report suggests a new society is the solution



Shere Hite

THE HITE REPORT

By Shere Hite
Macmillan, \$12.50

Newsweek hailed this bestseller as one of the most "significant events of the year 1976." *Ms.* and Erica Jong in the *New York Times* loved it. On the other hand, nothing but pans have marked its reception by the left press. A lengthy critical review in *Seven Days* said it has "potentially dangerous political impact;" *Mother Jones'* pallid review wondered what all the fuss was about. And, in the pages of this publication three weeks ago, Barbara Ehrenreich poked fun at the "wave of masturbatory enthusiasm" to which, supposedly, the book has contributed.

For once, I'm with *Newsweek*.

►Too many feminists?

Critics have charged that the 3,000 American women interviewed by Shere Hite are an unrepresentative sampling because the early distribution of her questionnaires was conducted through feminist groups like the National Organization of Women. But her final sampling includes readers of *Oui*, *Brides*, *Mademoiselle* and *The Village Voice*, as well as women reached through church newsletters. The respondents range from 14 to 78 years old; come from 49 states; almost 50 percent are or were married. While almost 50 percent had at least some college, the majority are housewives, clerical workers, nurses or medical technicians,

teachers, or students (in order of statistical ranking)—hardly a feminist constituency. Also, her key statistical findings correlate with studies by Alfred Kinsey and others.

But the book's importance does not rest on statistical validity anyway. What is significant is that in it a large number of women speak for themselves for the first time about sex—and with almost a unanimous voice.

►Sex from a position of strength.

The book's lengthy opening chapter on masturbation has been criticized (and mocked) for Hite's seemingly obsessive focus on technique. On the basis of her survey, she divides masturbation technique into six types and, yes, 32 subtypes! This approach does at first appear to be mechanistic—not to say silly. But in the context of the whole book, this chapter is key.

It reveals, first of all, the enormous amount of sexual creativity and imagination the women channel into masturbation, which is described as "a sacred ritual," a way to "teach you about your own body," and an ability to have sex "from a position of strength."

Secondly, as the book goes on to document guaranteed physical satisfaction for most of these women is *only* available through masturbation. As one woman puts it: "I have wanted orgasm with a man for 12 years. Seems like the impossible dream. I can be a loving eunuch to him, but a full sexual person by myself."

►Feelings of shame.

Hite reports, however, that most of the women questioned said they enjoy masturbation physically, but not psychologically. Many find that it leads to feeling "adrift" or "ashamed," "self-conscious," "self-absorbed." These women want satisfying emotional contact with a sexual partner.

►"Monotonous, drill-like and boring."

If *The Hite Report* shows ambivalence about masturbation, it shows definite dissatisfaction with (hetero)sexual relations. (92 percent of the women surveyed were heterosexual.) Hite's finding—that only 30 percent of the women were satisfied sexually by intercourse—has been previously documented by Kinsey, Masters and Johnson, and others. But the several thousand separate voices of this book join together in mutual complaint not only about a lack of sexual satisfaction, but a lack of emotional satisfaction as well. The dominant sexual pattern is experienced by the majority of Hite's respondents as mechanical, dull, repetitious, and uncreative.

Some representative comments: "It is monotonous, drill-like, and boring." "I'm beginning to think that there must be something like a Roberts Rule of Order which every guy follows." "A man acts as if it's damn impertinent of me to suggest that my responses aren't programmed exactly like those mythical women in the classics of porn."

Much of the book consists of the respondents' answers about

every aspect of sexual technique and their feelings about sex. But as the collective voice becomes louder, Hite interjects more of her own analysis.

►Who defines sex roles?

In a chapter entitled "Sexual Slavery," Hite sets forth her view of sex as one of the ways in which women are oppressed in our society. The dominant (hetero)sexual pattern expresses the fact that male sexual satisfaction is identical with the male role in reproduction, although for the female, the two are separate. Since men dominate women, the male-oriented sexual model has defined female sexuality.

Her theoretical underpinning is the standard "radical feminist" analysis that biology originally determined the female condition and that patriarchal society has perpetuated it although changes in technology and population growth have now created the preconditions for the liberation of women from biological dictates.

►There was no sexual revolution.

Hite explores contemporary "sexual slavery" in terms of general cultural conditioning, sexist psychology, and, most importantly, the continuing economic dependency of women on men. There is much painful, personal testimony by the respondents on the trade-off of sex for economic security, and of sex for love (cf. old adage "Men give love for sex; women give sex for love").

On the so-called "sexual revolution" of the '60s, Hite concludes that there was no such thing, that "sexual liberation" in a male-supremacist society has only meant freedom for men to further exploit women. Feminists have said this before, but the many angry replies from the women Hite studies lend tremendous force to her criticism.

►Hite sees solutions in new society.

Hite's tentative probes at a solution cover some ground not previously explored by radical feminists. She first offers such directive epithets as: "seize control over our orgasms," demand "androgynous intercourse," and, implicitly, try to overcome the guilt associated with masturbation. But she also goes on to say:

Although sexuality is very important, it is questionable whether it is important in and of itself, apart from its meaning in your life as a whole.... Most people do not have the luxury of being able to choose work that they would like to do.... And...since technology and the growth of large corporate business have taken over almost every aspect of life, most jobs have become very repetitive, impersonal, and boring.... As one woman put it, "Sex is clearly used as a universal panacea, to keep the masses quiet and stop them from realizing the emptiness, meaninglessness, and alienation of their working lives."

Sexuality and sexual relationships can be surrogates for (or obscure our need for) a more satisfying relationship with the larger world—with work. As long as we accept this schizoid compartmentalization of public and private life, we are abrogating our moral obligation to take an active part in the direction of the larger world, and accepting an ethic of powerlessness.

Although she never fleshes out these perceptions, they stop her from wholeheartedly promoting individual solutions. For her, individual women asserting their sexual needs is much like the karate class or self-help clinics of the women's movement, which are not ends in themselves but small, important steps enabling women to overcome basic fears and conservatism and to gain some elementary control so as to meet larger challenges.

►Personal is political.

At another point, Hite says: "The challenge for us now is to devise a new kind of society," one in which the desires articulated by these women for real warmth and emotional connection, for more equality in sexual relationships, can be fulfilled. Vague her final vision may be, but Hite does not simply push women down the dead-end route toward personal liberation, with a guilt-free orgasm available if you go out and buy a vibrator; nor does she suggest that sexual and emotional satisfaction will automatically come if women learn to communicate better with hubby. She sees the limitations of these measures, even while she thinks they may help.

The Hite Report is important because it challenges, forcefully if briefly, one of the most crucial and cooptive ideologies of corporate society: that private or personal life can compensate for the alienation in one's work life. In addition, its feminist analysis once again powerfully argues that the "personal is the political," that sexuality is defined by sexism—that the individual woman's experience of sexuality is part of a collective phenomenon.

—Torie Osborn

HOW DEEP DID
ROOTS
DIG?

In *These Times* issue #14 featured a special 5-part center-section on varied views of the "Eight Days That Shook the World."

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Photo from City Lives

BOOKS

New York City Lives records humor, heroism of survivors

CITY LIVES

by James Wagenvoord
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, \$7.95 in paper

For more than a year James Wagenvoord walked around New York City, entering the lives and homes of its people, photographing, talking, touching, listening.

"Walking through the city, riding its noisy, crowded transportation, living in it, is to experience a barrage. Witnessing the heroic honesty of some of the people...leaves one slightly limp. But there is also a steadiness... the incredible insight and emotional power that comes to virtually everyone as a result of surviving for a while."

City Lives is a celebration of that survival—sometimes shocking, sometimes touching, sometimes poetic, sometimes analytic, often funny. Everyone and everything Wagenvoord observes is brought into focus. The city becomes a backdrop for its people's lives. We are permitted to see into them as if we were peeking through a hole in the back fence.

The author-photographer handles words and visual images with equal skill. One wonders whether his quoted conversations owe any of their authenticity to a tape recorder. He does not say. But listen to a Karate instructor talking about the larger purpose of his art:

"I would rather teach my people how to fight with their God-given weapons than teach them how to fire a gun at each other. If presidents would do that, okay, if whoever the hell it is that's running countries would get out there in the middle of 161st St.

and kick each other's ass, then we wouldn't lose so many guys. They're the ones that start all the damn wars, and we end up fighting while they sit back on their butts."

Or to a man who used to be the "super" of a building that burned down and now lives as a squatter in his jerry-built hut surrounded by rubble.

"I got a hammer. I got me some wood. I got me some nails. ... It took about an hour to make the frame of the balcony and the kitchen. Then some other friends helped us make the second floor. ... Now four of us are staying here.... We share the house and we don't do no harm to nobody. The water's right at the curb in the hydrant. We wash the dishes there."

"I've never taken any help from the city.... I ask a person for money—I'm not ashamed because I need it. I got a mouth. I can talk, and people can say no."

Or the welfare mother of seven:

"There are too many kids, like, in the neighborhood. All of them go to the same school. Like, if they have a fight out here on the street, they says, well, 'We gonna get you at school'. And they wait for the kids, you know, after they come out of school and they beat them up. My ten-

year-old daughter, she's very smart.... Now I gets reports that she's not doin' her work right... When you is scared and you have doubts about, you know, somebody gonna beat you up outside, you can't think."

There is as great variety to the subject matter Wagenvoord tackles as to his approaches. There are sections on ethnic communities of Hassidic Jews and of Italians who make their own wine because "they admire it," there are interviews with pensioners and with poverty workers and university professors; an account of the "police riot" at the entrance to Brooklyn Bridge, and of the new experimental community "surrounded by a moat—actually a major river," connected to the rest of the world by a bridge and an aerial tramway.

City Lives is a book to read uninterrupted, or to pick up for a short visit now and then. It is a chronicle of nerve and hope, recording the tenacity, humor and fragile hopes of people—like Wagenvoord himself—who make New York City their home.

—Gehla S. Knight

Gehla S. Knight is a freelance writer who lives in Oregon.

MUSIC



Jamaica Reggae singer proves too political for U.S. "Music machine"

Events in the recent Jamaican election campaign proved that some people take Reggae music very seriously. The day before Reggae star Bob Marley was to appear at a rally for Prime Minister Manley's Socialist Party, he was attacked at home by machine-gun-toting thugs who, in wild or selective fire, only managed to graze his guitar arm. It may have been a serious attempt to eliminate Reggae's most impressive musician/writer, or just a warning to stay out of politics. Nonetheless, Marley appeared the next day and performed before 80,000 Manley supporters, singing songs like "Rat Race" ("Don't involve Rasta in your say say, Rasta don't work for no CIA") and "Crazy Baldhead":

*Build your penitentiary, We
build your schools,
Brainwash education, To make
us the fools,
We gonna chase those crazy
baldheads out of town.*

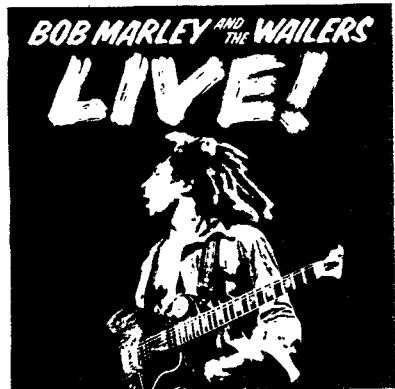
Marley's music is a combination of radical political awareness and driving rhythmic percussive sounds. Like Brecht, he seems to believe that you have to capture the attention of audiences before they can participate in active criticisms of their own conditions.

Many Reggae groups have connections with Jamaica's Trenchtown—a combination Harlem, Watts and Chicago's South Side. Trenchtown is alive with music and hopes for economic and political change promised by Manley's party.

It will be interesting to see how the relationship between Manley's political philosophy and Jamaica's music develops in the future. At present Reggae mirrors the aspirations of Jamaica's poor in an immediate way.

This may be one reason why Reggae is a commercial failure in the U.S. The notion that popularity and social concern cannot mix has been created by the music industry, which incorporates much of the critical establishment. Most American critics are either suspicious or contemptuous of popular or folk music whose reason for existence is rooted in radical politics. The American music machine tried to market Reggae and failed.

When Bob Marley was first "discovered" and lionized by the press, the word was that super-



stardom was around the corner for him. The predictions didn't materialize. Only in cities like New York and Chicago, where there are fair-sized Caribbean populations, does Reggae get the serious attention it deserves.

The widest exposure so far has been accorded Eric Clapton's lame version of Marley's "I Shot the Sheriff." This rendition was the sort that American audiences could hum on the way to school or work with no idea that the song came from an album whose tone was set by "Get Up, Stand Up," "Small Axe" or the angelic harmonies of "Burning and Looting."

Island Records still releases Reggae in the States. In the past few months its most notable releases have been Burning Spear's *Man in the Hills*, Toot's and the Maytals' *Reggae Got Soul*, Justin Hines and the Dominoes' *Jezebel*, new groups like the Mighty Diamonds and Third World, and their latest volume of *This Is Reggae*, which highlights a number of important pieces by groups like Aswad, Max Romeo and the Upsetters and Jah Lion. All these albums are important for their integration of music and social consciousness, which is startling when placed against the wave of disco that we are forced to witness every day.

Though you can dance to Reggae, the real meaning and intent of songs like Marley's "Them Belly Full (But We Hungry)" and "Revolution" (it takes a revolution to make a solution) are beyond entertainment. They demand involvement and commitment and must be understood as products of a new Jamaican spirit and not as part of the industrial music process that is stamped Made in U.S.A.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University.

Classified



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A great NBA season if you don't live in Buffalo or Long Island

By Mark Naison

From the standpoint of both players and fans, this season has been one of the most exciting in the history of professional basketball. The merger of the National Basketball Association and the American Basketball Association has brought an influx of talented new players into the mainstream of the sport and has made for a much more innovative and artistic style of play.

During its short period of existence, the ABA suffered from financial problems and lack of national exposure, but it attracted some of the best college players because of the high salaries it paid and the chance it provided for "instant stardom." The result was a game in which players rather than coaches set the tone, a run-and-gun style that featured twisting layups, acrobatic moves, and slam dunks, in which individual skills dominated and defense was neglected.

In coming into the NBA, the ABA players demonstrated that they could adapt their art to a more disciplined style of play without losing the flair and imagination that were their trademark. The quality of play in the NBA this year is higher than it has ever been before and no one or two teams has been able to dominate the rest. Even the top teams have been losing most of their games on the road and the worst teams (with one or two exceptions) have the potential to win on any given night.

Fan interest in the sport has risen accordingly. Average attendance in the games is the highest in the sport's history and the television audience has become far more diverse. Women are an important (and growing) part of both the crowds and the TV audience, dramatizing the emergence of the sport as a popular art form with an appeal that transcends sexual boundaries. For grace, creativity, and personal charisma, players like Julius Erving, Earl Monroe and Kareem Jabbar can be compared to the great women gymnasts who were the most popular performers in the last two Olympics. The dexterity and body control they display in their art is so extraordinary and so surprising, even to those who have seen them

many times, that it evokes a kind of awe and wonder at what human beings are capable of achieving.

Unfortunately, the achievements of such players and the continued development of the sport are jeopardized by irrational and destructive business practices and player/management relations. This year, fans in a number of cities have been outraged by the sale of star players for reasons that have nothing to do with the quality of the teams they played for.

Early this season, Julius Erving and Bob MacAdoo, two of the most talented players in the game, were suddenly sold to other teams by owners of their respective franchises without receiving comparable players in return. As a result, the teams they used to play for (the New York Nets and the Buffalo Braves), both considered playoff contenders in the pre-season, have become the weakest teams in the league.

In each case, the reason for the trade was the financial problems of the owner. Fans protested vigorously—in New York, several sued the Nets to have their season tickets refunded—but were not able to halt the transactions.

The structure of ownership in the game makes trades of this kind possible at any time. Since teams are privately owned and run as profit-making ventures, the only people who can afford to purchase them are millionaire businessmen who have a large range of other investments. In some cases they make the team the focal point of their lives and show a genuine (though paternalistic) concern for the quality of the sport. But all too often they use the franchise as a tax shelter or a way of publicizing their other commercial activities and exploit the game mercilessly for their own enrichment.

Producing the best possible team in a particular city is of less importance to such owners than building up their own financial empires. As a result, an atmosphere of instability pervades the entire sport. Fans never know when their favorite players will be traded or when the entire franchise will be moved to another city and players never know when they will have to suddenly uproot themselves and their families.

It's not surprising that fans have become furious and players have become

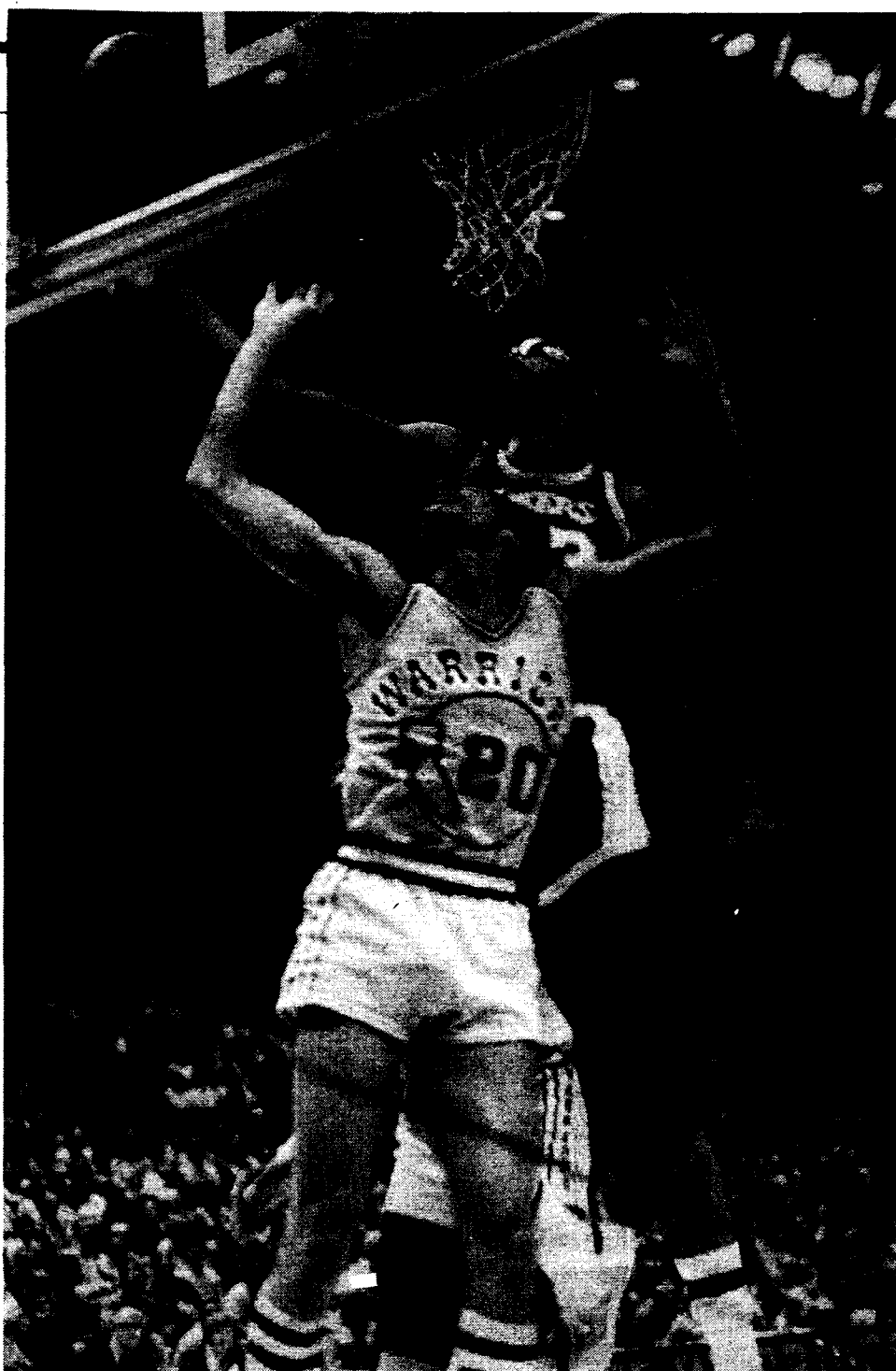


Photo by John Judis

cynical. "There's no such thing as team loyalty," Julius Erving recently said. "This is a business and players have the right to be paid at their market value."

Battles over salaries are taking place in almost every franchise, creating bad feelings among players and an adversary relationship between players and fans. In spite of the rising quality of play, people in all phases of the sport are wondering whether the present economic arrangements can continue.

In my opinion it's time to consider public ownership of professional teams. If we regard a sport like basketball as a popular art form, a type of public entertainment that adds excitement and vitality to our leisure hours, then the public—whose tax moneys build the stadiums and arenas—have the right to exercise control over the organization of the sport.

If the teams in the NBA were owned by cities instead of businessmen, and admin-

istered by an elected board of governors, it might be possible to minimize many of the most undemocratic features of the sport. With fans having an institutionalized voice in the operations of the teams, players would not be traded in as arbitrary a fashion, franchises would not abandon cities without public referenda, and players would be more likely to feel ties to particular teams and communities.

The details of such an arrangement would have to be worked out carefully, particularly in the light of the financial difficulties many cities are currently experiencing. But if it is implemented carefully, such a plan would help stabilize the sport at a high level of excellence, instill a sense of responsibility in players toward those who finance and appreciate their art, and give people some control over an important aspect of their cultural lives.

Mark Naison lives in New York and is helping to coordinate ongoing sports coverage for *In These Times*.

Tips for weekend athletes

In the last few years many of my friends who have been physically inactive during most of their adult years have rediscovered sports. As an unreconstructed jock, it's been exciting to watch men and women who had been turned off athletics at an early age, or had abandoned them for more "serious" concerns in their teens or early twenties, get into tennis, volleyball, handball, basketball, jogging or swimming, and experience the joy and vitality that comes from exercise and the development of physical skills.

But the ruddy cheeks, tousled heads and sparkling eyes are only one side of the story. The other side is a remarkable array of injuries: sprained ankles, wrenched backs, pulled leg and groin muscles, severed tendons, broken bones, torn cartilage.

All too often, people who resume athletic activity after a ten or 15 year layoff are injured so frequently that they cannot derive much pleasure from the new talents they're discovering. Once you pass age 30, you've got to ease your way into a program of physical activity.

The following are some simple guidelines which may help you spend more time on the ballfield than in the doctor's office:

1. Always give yourself at least a ten-minute warmup period before any intense physical activity. Slowly stretch your arms, legs, back, stomach and neck, being careful not to strain any muscle beyond its capacity. If you're playing tennis, you should have an additional ten minutes of warmup on the court itself, practicing serves, groundstrokes, volleys and overheads; the same is true for basketball, squash and volleyball. Don't go full blast right away.

2. If you're playing sports once a week, don't remain physically inactive the rest of the four or five days you're away from the courts: jogging, running in place, Canadian air force exercises, yoga. As you get older, your resilience diminishes. It's best to keep the body tuned up regularly to avoid exposing it to sudden strain.

3. Don't play when injured. Vince Lombardi used to say "Pain is only in the mind," and "If you can walk, you can run." The result of his philosophy is amply demonstrated in the life-expectancy statistics for pro-football players: 58 years, 12 less than the average American male. Don't be a hero; get medical attention when you're injured and give yourself plenty of time to heal.

—Mark Naison



Photo by Ken Firestone